

ओ३म् ।

अथ चतुर्थाध्यायस्य प्रथमः पादः ।

BOOK FOURTH.

CHAPTER FIRST.

ङ्भाप्प्रातिपदिकात् ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ ङी-भाप्-प्रातिपदिकात् ॥

धृतिः ॥ अधिकारोऽयम् । यदित् ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्याम आपञ्चमाध्यायपरिसमाप्तेऽर्थाप्रातिपदिकारित्येवं
संक्षेपितमयम् ॥

1. (From this point forward as far as the end of Book Fifth, whatever we shall treat of, should be understood to come), after what ends with the feminine affixes ङी, or भाप्, or after a Nominal stem.

This is an 'adhikāra' aphorism pure and simple. It simply consists of terms which other aphorisms, in order to complete their sense, are under the necessity of borrowing. In other words, this sūtra points out the base प्रकृति to which the affixes beginning with सु treated of in the next sūtra, and ending with कप् (V. 4. 151), are to be applied.

The sūtra consists of three words. The term ङी is a common name for the three affixes ङीप्, ङीष्, and ङीन् ॥ The term भाप्, is the common name for the three affixes दाप्, डाप् and चाप् ॥ These are feminine affixes and are taught from sūtra 4 to 65 of this chapter. The word प्रातिपदिक means 'a Nominal stem' and has been defined in sūtra I. 2. 45, 46, i. e. that which is possessed of a meaning, not being a root or an affix; or what ends with a Kṛit or a Tad-dhita affix. The word ङ्भाप् प्रातिपदिकात् is a Samāhāra-dvandva or Collective aggregate of these three words.

Q. All affixes are placed after the base (See Sūtra III. 1. 2); the affixes treated of in the last Book were to be placed after the root ('dhātu'); the remaining affixes taught in Books Fourth and Fifth, will therefore, be placed after all such bases प्रकृति which are not roots (dhātu); and such bases remaining are prātipadika and feminine words. What is then the necessity

of making this sūtra, when these prātipadika &c., are the only bases left to us to apply the affixes taught herein-after? *तत्राशयः*

A. To this we reply, the necessity of making this sūtra arose from the following considerations: that the word *ह्रस्वप्रतिपदिकात्* should qualify the words 'ह्रस्व' 'अवृद्ध', 'the letter अ,' 'अनुदात्तादि,' and 'ह्रस्व,' wherever used in the following sūtras. So that, where a rule says: "let such an affix be applied to a Vṛiddha word," we must understand it to mean, "let such an affix be applied to a Vṛiddha word which is a prātipadika, or which ends with 'hi' or 'āp'; and not to every Vṛiddha word." The principal aphorism, besides the present, which regulates the application of Taddhita affixes, is IV. 1. 82, which declares:—"The taddhita affixes, on the alternative of their being employed at all, come after the word that is signified *by the first of the words in construction.*" Thus IV. 1. 157 says;—"The affix *क्षिप्* is added, according to the opinion of Northern Grammarians, in the sense of 'descendant,' after a word which is entitled to the designation of Vṛiddham, provided it does not end with a Gotra affix." Thus the idea, 'the son of Amragupta,' may be expressed either by the phrase 'आम्रगुप्तपुत्रस्य'; or by adding the affix 'phiñ' to the first of the word in construction, viz, 'āmraguptasya,' which is a Vṛiddha word (I. 1. 73). But can we apply the affix 'phiñ' to the first of the word in construction in the following, 'ज्ञानाद्ब्राह्मणानामपत्यम्,' because the word 'jñānām' the genitive plural of 'jñā', is a Vṛiddha word? Certainly not, because the word 'prātipadikāt' must be read into this sūtra IV. I. 157, and the affix 'phiñ' should be added after that Vṛiddha word which is in its crude-form also a Vṛiddham, and not that which becomes Vṛiddham only in construction. Now the prātipadika of 'jñānām' is 'jñā', the latter is not a vṛiddham, therefore, the rule does not apply to it. So also the word 'jñā' is a vṛiddham in its prātipadika state; but in the following phrase, it loses its vṛiddha nature; 'ज्ञयोर्ब्राह्मणोरपत्यम्' meaning 'the son of two wise Brāhman ladies'. Still the affix 'phiñ' must be added to the word 'jñyor', because its prātipadika is a vṛiddha word. (2) Similarly the word 'अवृद्ध' (sūtra IV. I. 160; 'the affix phiñ is applied diversely to a non-vṛiddha word, according to the opinion of the Eastern Grammarians') must be qualified by the word 'prātipadika'; otherwise it would lead to similar incongruous results as in the last aphorism. (3) Similarly the word अत् in Sūtra IV. 1. 95 ('the affix इम् is added after a word which ends in the letter अ') must be qualified by the word 'prātipadika'; that is to say, the word in its crude-form must end in अ, and not necessarily when it is in construction. If it were not so; then the affix 'इम्' will apply only to the word 'इक्षत्य' in 'इक्षत्पुत्रस्य' but will not apply to the words 'इक्षयोः', or 'इक्षानाम्' in the phrases 'इक्षयोरपत्यम्' or 'इक्षानामपत्यम्' ॥ But the affix 'इम्' applies to all these three words;

(4). Similarly the word 'अनुवाचतेः' in IV. 2. 44, (the affix 'अम्' is added to a word which has the grave accent on its beginning), must be qualified by the word *prātipadika*. That is, the word in its crude form must have the grave accent on its initial, though in construction, it may or may not have grave accent. Otherwise, the affix 'इम्' will apply to the words 'वाचः' and 'स्वचः' which in construction are *anudāttādi* as in 'वाचो विकारः' 'स्वचो विकारः' (VI. 1. 168); but which in their crude-forms (वाक्, स्वच्) are *udāttādi*. And conversely, the affix 'अम्,' will not apply to the word 'सर्वेषाम्' which in construction is *udāttādi*, as, 'सर्वेषाम् विकारः,' but which in its crude-form is *anudāttādi*.

(5). Similarly the word 'म्यचः' in IV. 4. 7, (the affix 'उद्' is employed after words consisting of two vowels, when the sense is that of crossing), must be qualified by the word *prātipadika*. That is, the word in its *prātipadika* state must consist of two vowels, though in construction it may consist of more than two syllables. Otherwise, this affix will not apply to the word पदेन in the phrase 'पदेन तरति,' while it will apply to the words 'वाचा' and 'स्वचा' in the phrases, 'वाचा तरति,' 'स्वचा तरति'. But this is undesirable.

Q Why have we employed the word 'hy-āp' in the aphorism? Is not the word *prātipadika* wide enough to include the words ending with the feminine affixes, by virtue of the *paribhāṣā*:—"A *prātipadika* denotes, whenever it is employed in grammar, also such a crude-form as is derived from it by the addition of an affix denoting gender."?

A. Not so. The *paribhāṣā* you quote applies to that case, where there is a rule, relating to an individual word-form, given in the *Sūtra* itself. In other words, "this *paribhāṣā* is applicable when a word is employed in grammar which either denotes *prātipadikas* generally (as the word '*prātipadika*' does in this *sūtra*) or denotes a particular *prātipadika*, (such as the words वा, खलति, पलित, बलिन, and खलति, in II. 1. 67)." That is, in II. 1. 67, the masculine form *yuvā*, also includes the feminine : but not so every-where. Moreover the words, डी, भाप् have been employed in the *Sūtra*, in order to make the *Taddhita* affixes applicable to feminine words ending in long ई (डी) or long वा (भाप्). Thus the feminine of 'काल', and 'हरिण' is, 'काली', and 'हरिणी', the feminine of 'खट्वा' and 'माल' is 'खट्वा' and 'माला'. After these words we can apply the *Taddhita* affix तरप् : as 'कालितर', 'हरिणितर', 'खट्वातर', and 'मालातर' ॥

Now, had we not used the word 'hy-āp' in the *Sūtra*, and wished to express the same idea as is done, say, by the word 'kalitarā,' we could not have got this form at all.

Q. The word काल takes डीप् by IV. 1. 42; to which when वरप् is added, the vowel is shortened by VI. 3. 43; and we shall get the form कालित्व ॥ Why do you then say that the Taddhita affixes could not be applied, but for the words न्य-अप् ?

A. To this we answer, that by the rule of vipratishedha, the Taddhita would have debarred the feminine. Thus, when feminine alone is meant and not comparison, we shall have काली ; and when comparison alone is meant and not feminine, we shall have कालतर; but when both feminine and comparison are meant, then would arise the difficulty; and according to the general maxim, the Taddhita would have debarred the feminine. But by using the word न्य-अप्, it is shown that *first* the feminine affixes are to be added, and then the comparison making affixes.

स्वौजसमौद्छष्टाभ्याम्भिस्ङेभ्याम्भ्यस्ङसिभ्याम्भ्यस्ङसोसाम्ङ्योस्सुप् ॥ २ ॥
पदानि ॥ सु-औ-जस्, अम्-औद्-शस्, दा-भ्याम्भिस्, ङे-भ्याम्भ्यस्, ङसि-भ्याम्भ्यस्,
ङस् ओस्-आम्, ङि-ओस्-सुप् (ङ्याप्प्रातिपदिकात्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ङ्याप्प्रातिपदिकात् स्वादयः प्रत्ययाः भवन्ति ॥

2. (After what ends with the feminine terminations डी or आप, or after a Nominal stem the following case affixes are employed for declension) :—

	Singular.	Dual.	Plural.
1st.	su (s)	au	jas (as)
2nd.	am	auṭ (au)	śas (as)
3rd.	tā (ā)	bhyām	bhis
4th.	he (e)	bhyām	bhyas
5th.	hasi (as)	bhyām	bhyas
6th.	has (as)	os	ām
7th.	hi (i)	os	sup (su)

In the above affixes, letters like ङ in सु are 'anubandhas' employed either for the sake of facility of pronunciation, or as distinguishing marks. The final वृ is employed for the sake of forming the pratyāhāra सुप्, which is the collective name for the above 21 case-affixes. The force and meaning of these affixes have already been explained in a former part of this work ; and therefore, need not be repeated here. We shall now give examples of the application of these affixes to words formed by डीप्, as, कुमारी ; by डीप् as, गौरी ; by डीन् as चार्द्धखी ; by दाप् as खड़ा ; by डाप् as बहुराजा ; and by चाप् as कारीर-गन्था ; and lastly to a prātipadika. as. वृष्ट् ।

कुमारी ।

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1st	कुमारी	कुमार्यौ	कुमार्यः
2nd	कुमारीम्	कुमार्यौ	कुमारीः
3rd	कुमार्या	कुमारीभ्याम्	कुमारीभिः
4th	कुमार्यै	कुमारीभ्याम्	कुमारीभ्यः
5th	कुमार्याः	कुमारीभ्याम्	कुमारीभ्यः
6th	कुमार्याः	कुमार्योः	कुमारीणाम्
7th	कुमार्याम्	कुमार्योः	कुमारीणु

खट्वा ।

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1st	खट्वा	खट्वे	खट्वाः
2nd	खट्वाम्	खट्वे	खट्वाः
3rd	खट्वाया	खट्वाभ्याम्	खट्वाभिः
4th	खट्वायै	खट्वाभ्याम्	खट्वाभ्यः
5th	खट्वायाः	खट्वाभ्याम्	खट्वाभ्यः
6th	खट्वायाः	खट्वयोः	खट्वाणाम्
7th	खट्वायाम्	खट्वयोः	खट्वासु

इषद् ।

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1st	इषद्	इषदौ	इषदाः
2nd	इषदम्	इषदौ	इषदाः
3rd	इषदा	इषदभ्याम्	इषदाभिः
4th	इषदै	इषदभ्याम्	इषदभ्यः
5th	इषदाः	इषदभ्याम्	इषदभ्यः
6th	इषदाः	इषदोः	इषदाणाम्
7th	इषदाम्	इषदोः	इषदासु

The words गौरी and चार्ङ्गरी are declined like कुमारी ; and बहुपञ्चा and कारीषगन्ध्या are declined like खट्वा ॥

स्त्रियाम् ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्त्रियाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अधिकारोपेयम् । यदित ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामः स्त्रियामित्येव तद्वदितव्यम् ॥

3. When feminine nature is to be indicated, the affixes which we shall treat of hereinafter must be employed.

This is an adhikāra sūtra pure and simple. The phrase 'when feminine nature is to be indicated', must be read in all the following aphorisms upto 81 inclusive. The anuvṛitti of the word 'prātipadika' should be read into this sūtra, from the first sūtra, not so, however, the anuvṛitti of the words 'ङी-आप्' ; for we are now going to form words by the application of ङी and आप् affixes.

अजाद्यतष्टाप् ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अजादि-अतः-टाप् (स्त्रियाश्च ऊष्वाण्याः) ॥

शुद्धिः ॥ अजादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्योऽकारान्ताश्च प्रातिपदिकान् स्त्रियां टाप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

4. The affix टाप् is employed to indicate feminine nature, after the Nominal-stem 'aja' &c, and after the stems ending in short अ ॥

Of the affix टाप्, the letters ट् and प् are इत्, the real affix is जा ॥ The letter प् indicates that the affix has anudatta accent (III. 1. 4); the letter ट् is employed to distinguish this affix from चाप् and डाप् ॥

The words अज &c, are given below. Thus अज 'a he goat,' अजा 'a she-goat'. The words ending in short अ are such as, देवदत्त whose feminine will be देवदत्ता ॥ The word अन् is used in the aphorism, the indicatory न् shows (I. 1. 70) that the short अ having one mâtira should be taken; and not the long आ ॥ Prâtipadikas that end in long आ, such as कीलालया or शुभेया (III. 2. 74) do not form their feminine by taking टाप्, but are both masculine and feminine. Thus, शुभेयाः कीलालयाः ब्राह्मणी 'the auspicious-going, nectar-drinking Brâhmanî'. Had the feminine of such words been formed by टाप्, then the case-affix स् of the nominative singular would have been elided after them (VI. 1. 68).

Following are the words belonging to the अजादि class :—

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|--------|------|---------|-------|----------|--------|
| 1. अज | अजा | 2. एडक | एडका | 3. कोकिल | कोकिला |
| 4. चटक | चटका | 5. भम्भ | भम्भा | 6. मूषिक | मूषिका |

N. B. The above words denote 'jâti' or kind and though they end in short अ in the masculine, they would have taken, but for the present sûtra, the affix 'nîsh' (IV. 2. 63) in the feminine.

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|----------|-------|---------|-------|----------|-------|
| 7. बाल | बाला | 8. होड | होडा | 9. पाक | पाका |
| 10. वत्स | वत्सा | 11. मन् | मन्दा | 12. विलस | विलसा |

N. B. The above six words are descriptive of age, and though they end in short अ in the masculine, but for the present sûtra, they would have taken the affix 'डीप्' (IV. 1. 20) in the feminine.

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|-----------------|--------------|--------------|------------|
| 13. पूर्वापहरण, | पूर्वापहरणा; | 14. अपरापहरण | अपरापहरणा; |
|-----------------|--------------|--------------|------------|

N. B. These two words are formed by the affix ल्युट्, and being रिन्, would have taken डीप् (IV. 1. 15) but for this sûtra.

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|---------------|------------|-------------|----------|
| 15. संफल, | संफला; | 16. भक्षफल, | भक्षफला; |
| 17. भञ्जिनफल, | भञ्जिनफला; | 18. शणफल, | शणफला; |
| 19. पिण्डफल, | पिण्डफला; | 20. विफल, | विफला; |

N. B. The above words ending in 'phala' would have taken the affix णिष् (IV. I. 64) but for their enumeration in the 'ajādi' class; 'विफल' when a Dvigu Compound forms its feminine as विफला; when a Bahuvrihi Compound, its feminine is विफली ॥

21. सत्पुष्प,	सत्पुष्पा;	22. प्राक्पुष्प,	प्राक्पुष्पा;
23. कान्तपुष्प,	कान्तपुष्पा;	24. मान्तपुष्प,	मान्तपुष्पा;
25. शतपुष्प,	शतपुष्पा;	26. एकपुष्प,	एकपुष्पा;

The above words ending in पुष्प would have taken णिष् by IV. I. 64.

27. शूद्र शूद्रा

B. N. But the feminine of शूद्र is शूद्री when the meaning is 'the wife of a śūdra'; so also when the word शूद्र is compounded with the word महत् as, महाशूद्री 'a woman of 'महाशूद्र' class'.

The term 'महाशूद्र' is applied to the caste of Abhiras: and this compound word would have taken the affix 'दाप्' by the rule of tadanta vidhi given in I. I. 72, but for the vārtika, viz 'शूद्रा चामहत पूर्वा जातिः' It might be objected that the tadanta vidhi cannot apply here on the strength of the following maxim:—"That which cannot possibly be anything but a prātipadika does not denote that which ends with it, but it denotes only itself"; Therefore, the word 'śūdra' which cannot be anything but a prātipadika, does not denote 'mahā-śūdra'. This objection is futile: the very fact of this vārtika indicates by implication (jñāpaka), that with regard to the application of the feminine affixes, the tadanta-vidhi is valid and does apply. Thus we have the forms like भतिधीवरी भतिधीवरी and भतिभवती

28. कुञ्ज कुञ्जा 29. उष्णिह उष्णिहा 30. देवविष् देवविष्ठा

N. B. The above words end in consonants and would not have taken 'दाप्' but for their being included in the 'अजादि' class.

31. उयेष्ठ उयेष्ठा 32. कनिष्ठ कनिष्ठा 33. मध्यम मध्यमा

B. N. The above words denoting matrimonial relation would have taken the affix 'णिष्' by IV. I. 46.

34. अमूल अमूला The word 'mūla' preceded by the negative particle naḥ, would have otherwise taken 'णिष्' by IV. I. 64.

ऋन्नेभ्योङीप् ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋत्-नेभ्यः, ङीप्, (स्त्रियाम् ङाप्पा०) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ ऋकाणन्तेभ्यो मकाणन्तेभ्यश्च प्रातिपदिकेभ्यः स्त्रियां ङीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

5. The affix ङीप् is employed, in forming the feminine, after Nominal stem ending in ऋ or in न् ।

Of the affix ङीप्, the letter ह् is taken in order to make a common term with ङीप् and ङीन्; and the प् is taken to distinguish ti from those

affixes; the real affix is ई । Thus, कर्तृ ;—f. कर्त्री ; हर्तृ—f. हर्त्री ; हण्डिन्—f. हण्डिनी ; छविन्,—f. छविनी ॥

उगितश्च ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ उगितः, च, (स्त्रियां डीप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उग्र इन् यत्रसंभवति यथा कयंभिन् तदुगिच्छब्दरूपं, तदन्तात् स्त्रियां डीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ धातोर्गणितः प्रतिषेधोवक्तव्यः ॥ वार्तिकम् ॥ संघटे षोपसंख्यानम् ॥

6. And after what has an indicatory 'uk' (उ, ङ्, or लृ) the affix डीप् is employed, in denoting the feminine.

The उक् is a pratyāhāra meaning उ, ङ् and लृ । Wherever it is possible to make these letters indicatory, in whatever way it may be, that word-form is called उगित् । That which ends with such a word is meant here. A prātipadika pure and simple, not formed by an affix, may be उगित्, thus the pronoun भवन् among the sarvanāmas: an affix may be उगित् as the affixes क्तवन् and णत्, and therefore, the words formed by these affixes will be उगित्; similarly a letter may be उगित् as नृ meaning नृ in VI. 4. 127, ("नृ is the substitute of the final of an inflective base ending in अर्धन् &c")

Thus, भवन् 'honored' sir.—f. भवती 'madam'. Applying the rule of tadantavidhi, we have अतिभवन्—अतिभवती 'most exalted lady'. Similarly पचन् (formed by adding णत् III. 2. 124), forms the feminine पचन्ती, the मुष comes by VII. 1. 82. So also यजन्ती 'a female sacrificing'; अर्धन् अर्धती 'a mare'.

Vārt:—Prohibition must be stated in the case of verbal roots having an indicatory 'uk'. Thus the roots झु 'to fall down', ङु 'to fall down' have indicatory उ; and we get from these roots, the prātipadikas like उखासन् and पर्णभन्, (III. 2. 76). The उखासन् ब्राह्मणी, पर्णभन् ब्राह्मणी ॥ Here, the feminine is not formed by adding डीप् ।

Vārt:—The prātipadikas ending with the verb 'anchu', however, take the affix डीप् । As, प्राची, प्रतीची, उरीची ॥

घनो र च ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ घनः, र, च, (स्त्रियां डीप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यजन्तात्प्रातिपदिकात् स्त्रियां डीप् प्रत्ययो भवति रेफान्तादेशः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ घनो न ह्यः ॥

7. The affix 'डीप्' is added, in forming the feminine to the stems that end in the syllable चन्, and र is the substitute of the final of such syllable.

Thus धीवन् (Uṇādi IV. 115) f. धीवरी 'a female artisan'; धीवन् f. धीवरी 'a young woman, a stout woman', रावन् f. रावरी 'night' (हृ + वनिन् III. 2. 75) lit. that which destroys light, So also परमेकदृष्यी ॥

Words ending in वृन् are formed by the affixes वृनिप्, (III. 2. 103) वृनिप् and वृनिप् (III. 2. 74). These words end in वृन् and consequently would have taken डीप् even by IV. 1. 5; the necessity of the present sūtra arose in order to teach the change of वृन् into र् in case of words ending in वृन् ॥

Vārt.—If the affix वृन् is ordained to be added to a word ending in वृष्, (a letter of वृष् pratyāhāḥa), and is thus immediately preceded by a soft consonant then this rule does not apply, that is to say, there is neither the application of the affix डीप् nor the change of वृन् into र् ॥ Thus सहयुध्वन् is both masculine and feminine as, सहयुध्वा ब्राह्मणः or ब्राह्मणी 'a Brāhman brother or sister in arms'. In सृर्वन् the वृन् is preceded by र् which is a letter of वृष् class, but as वृन् is not ordained to be applied to सृर्व but to वृष्, and we get the र् indirectly by guṇa, the vārtika does not apply to such a case. Hence सृर्वन् ॥

पादोऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पादः, अन्यतरस्याम् (स्त्रियां डीप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पादन्तात् प्रातिपदिकान्यतरस्यां स्त्रियां डीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

8. The affix 'डीप्' is optionally employed in the feminine, after a Nominal-stem ending with word 'pād.'

The word पाद् becomes पावृ when final in certain Bahuvrihi compounds (V. 4. 140). Thus द्विपात् is both masculine and feminine, or it may optionally form its feminine by long ई (डीप्). In the latter alternative, the form will be द्विपदी, the word पाद् being replaced by पवृ by VI. 4. 130, (as read with I. 4. 18). Similarly त्रिपात् or त्रिपदी ; चतुष्पाद् or चतुष्पदी ॥

दावृचि ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ दाप्, वृचि, (स्त्रियां पादः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋचिवाच्यायां पादन्तात् प्रातिपदिकान् स्त्रियां दाप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

9. The affix दाप् is employed in the feminine, after a Nominal-stem ending with the word 'pād', when the word denotes a verse of the Rig-Veda.

This debars डीप् ॥ Thus द्विपदा ऋक् 'a Rik verse consisting of two quarter verses'; similarly त्रिपदा ऋक्, चतुष्पदा ऋक् ॥ Why do we say "when denoting a Rik verse"? Observe द्विपदी देवदत्ता 'Devadattā (a woman) having two feet'.

न पद स्वस्मादिभ्यः ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ न, पद, स्वस्मादिभ्यः, (स्त्रियाम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पदं संज्ञकेभ्यः स्वस्मादिभ्यश्च प्रातिपदिकेभ्यः स्त्रीप्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

10. The feminine affixes are not employed after the stems called 'पद' (I. 1. 24), and after 'स्वस्व' &c.

This prohibits all feminine affixes that would otherwise have presented themselves. Thus पञ्च ब्राह्मण्यः 'the five Brāhmaṇi ladies'. So also सप्त, नव, दश &c are feminine as well as masculine. The following words belong to the

Svasrādi class :—स्वसा 'a sister', पुहिता 'a daughter'; ननान्ना 'a husband's sister', यता 'a husband's brother's wife', माता 'a mother', तिस्रः 'three'. चतस्रः 'four'.

मनः ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ मनः (डीप् स्त्रियां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मन्त्रन्तात्प्रातिपदिकात् डीप् प्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

11. The affix डीप् is not employed after a Nominal-stem ending in the syllable मन् ॥

By IV. 1. 5, prātipadikas ending in मन् would have taken the affix डीप्, in as much as they end in न्; but the present sūtra prohibits that. Thus शमन् 'a string' is both neuter and feminine; and is declined as follows :—I. ३. शमा; d. शमानौ, pl. शमानः ॥ Similarly पामा, पामानौ, पामानः ॥

Here by using the term मन् we mean words formed by an affix whose effective element is मन्, such as the affix मनिन् (Uṇādi IV. 144) in the words शमन् (शे + मनिन्) and पामन्; as well as words which end in मन् which does not represent an affix. This is done on the strength of the following paribhāṣa :—अनिनसमन ग्रहणान्यर्थवता चनर्थकेन च तदन्तविधिं प्रयोजयन्ति ॥ "Wherever अन् or इन् or अस् or मन्, when they are employed in grammar denote by I. 1. 72 something that ends with अन् or इन् or अस् or मन्, there अन्, इन्, अस्, and मन् represent these combinations of letters both in so far as they possess, and also in so far as they are void of, a meaning." Therefore, words like सीमन् and अतिमहिमन्, where मन् is not an affix, but an integral part of the word, are also governed by the present sūtra. Thus, सीमा, सीमानौ, सीमानः अतिमहिमा, अतिमाहमानौ and अतिमहिमानः ॥

अनो बहुव्रीहेः ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनः, बहुव्रीहेः, (स्त्रियां डीप् न) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अमन्त्राद् बहुव्रीहेः स्त्रियाम् डीप् प्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

12. The affix डीप् is not employed to denote the feminine, after a Bahuvrīhi compound ending in अन् ॥

This refers to those Bahuvrīhi compounds in which the penultimate is not elided. Of the Bahuvrīhi compounds which lose their penultimate letter, it is optional to employ this affix or not; as it will be taught in IV. 1. 28. Thus सुषर्वन् 'possessed of beautiful joints' is both masculine and feminine. As सुषर्वन्, सुषर्वानौ, सुषर्वानः; so also सुशर्मा, सुशर्मानौ and सुशर्माणः ॥ In these cases the penultimate अ of अन् or मन् is not elided. See VI. 4. 137.

Why do we say "after Bahuvrīhi compounds"? Because after any other compounds, this rule will not apply. As आंतराजन् is an Avyayibhāva compound, its feminine will be अतिराज्ञी ॥

डाबुभाभ्यामन्यतरस्याम् ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ डाप्, उभाभ्यां, अन्यतरस्यां, (मनः अनोबहुव्रीहेः स्त्रियां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ डाप् प्रत्ययो भवति उभाभ्यां मन्त्रन्तात्प्रातिपदिकादनन्ताच्च बहुव्रीहेरन्यतरस्याम् ॥

13 The affix **डाप्** comes optionally after both these, viz. the Nominal-stem ending in **मन्**, and a Bahuvrīhi compound ending in **अन्** ॥

Of the affix **डाप्**, the letter **र्** indicates that the affix is to be added after the elision of the **वि** (I. 1. 64) of the base. Thus **पामन् + डाप् = पाम् + मा = पामा**, This being an optional rule we have 1. *s* **पामा** *d*, **पामे** or **पामानौ**, *p*, **पामाः** or **पामानः**; similarly with **सीमा**, as, **सीमा**, **सीमे** or **सीमानौ**, **सीमाः** or **सीमानः** ॥

So also in Bahuvrīhi compounds ending in **अन्**. As :—

बहुपञ्चा,	बहुपञ्चे or बहुपञ्चानौ,	बहुपञ्चाः or बहुपञ्चानः ॥
बहुतक्षा,	बहुतक्षे or बहुतक्षाणौ,	बहुतक्षाः or बहुतक्षाणः ॥

Why do we say “optionally”? So that the option may apply to sūtra IV. 1. 7 also; i. e. when a prātipadika ending in **अन्**, which can be regarded as ending in **अन्**, is a Bahuvrīhi compound, then the change of **न** into **र्** and the application of **हीर्** are optional · we may apply the affix **डाप्** instead. As :—
बहुषीवा or **बहुषीवरी** ; **बहुषीवा** or **बहुषीवरी** ॥

अनुपसर्जनात् ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन् उपसर्जनात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यदित् ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामोऽनुपसर्जनादित्येवं तद्वदितव्यम् ॥

14. The following rules apply to a Nominal-stem which is not a subordinate term in a compound.

This is an adhikāra aphorism pure and simple, and has governing force upto IV. 1. 77: and prohibits the application of affixes to ‘upasarjanas’. That is to say, whatever we shall treat of hereafter, is to be understood to apply to such terms only, which are not upasarjana or a subordinate term in a compound. (I. 2. 43). Thus the next sūtra declares “the affix **हिप्** is added in forming the feminine after what ends in short **अ**, if the affix with which it ends has an indicative **द्**, & c.” Thus the word **कुरुचर** is formed by the affix **ट्** (III.) 2. 16), and ends in **अ**. The feminine of this word will be formed by **हीर्** as **कुरुचरी**, similarly **मङ्गचर**—**मङ्गचरी** । But if these words being the last members of a compound, are treated as upasarjana (I. 2. 43), then they will not take the affix **हीर्** in the feminine. Now in a Bahuvrīhi compound, all the component members are upasarjana, (II. 2, 35); therefore, the feminine of such compounds will not take **हीर्** ॥ Thus, **बहुकुरुचर** or **बहुमङ्गचर** **मधुरा** ॥ Similarly IV. 1. 63 says, “the affix **हीर्** is added after words denoting jāti” as, **कुक्कुडी**, **शुकरी** ॥ But where these words are upasarjana, ‘hiśh’ will not be added : as, **बहुकुक्कुडा** **बहुशुकरा** **मधुरा** ॥

As a general rule, tadanta-vidhi (I, 1, 72) does not apply to compounds ; but the present sūtra indicates by implication that the tadanta-vidhi applies to compounds for the purposes

of the application of feminine affixes. For had it not been so, there would have been no necessity of making the present sūtra ; for a rule applicable to a simple word as such, would not have applied to it when it was part of a compound—whether subordinate (upasarjana), or principal (pradhāna). But the present sūtra indicates that the tadanta-vidhi does apply, if the word does not become a subordinate member, but is regarded as the principal member, of a compound.

The feminine of कुम्भकार or नगरकार will be कुम्भकारी or नगरकासी, in as much as the second member here is pradhāna : the word 'kumbha-kāra' being formed by क्त् (III, 2, 1), and thus making it possible to apply डीप् by IV. 1. 15. The affix क्त् referred to in the next sūtra refers to the kṛit-affix क्त् (III. 2. 1), as well as to the Taddhita affix क्त् ॥

दिङ्दानञ्द्वयसज्दम्नज्मात्रच्तयप् ठक् ठञ्कञ्करपः ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥
दित्-ढ-अण्-अञ्-द्वयसच्-दम्नच्-मात्रच्-तयप्-ठक्-ठञ्कञ्-करपः (अतः स्त्रिया-
म् डीप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिसविभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यः स्त्रियां डीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ नञ्मन्त्रीकृच्छ्रयुत्तरुणतलुनानामुपसंख्यानम् ॥

15. The affix डीप् is added, in the feminine, after the Nominal-stems ending in short अ, if the affix with which it ends has an indicatory ढ, or if the affix be ढ, or अण्, or अञ्, or द्वयसच्, or दम्नच्, or मात्रच्, or तयप्, or ठक्, or ठञ् or कञ्, or क्वरप् ॥

The word अतः 'ending in short अ' is understood here by anuvṛitti from IV. 1. 4 ; and qualifies the affixes above-mentioned, wherever necessary. This debars the affix टप् of IV. 1. 4. We shall give example of each *seriatim* (1) Thus, m., कुरुचर f., कुरुचरी m., मद्रचर f., मद्रचरी (चर+ई=चर्+ई ; the final अ is elided by VI. 4. 148.) The word kuru-chara is formed by ढ (III. 2. 16). of which ढ is indicatory.

Q. It might be objected, "why is not the affix डीप् added after the words पचमान, formed by the affix घानच् (III. 2. 124) in as much as this affix is a substitute of लट् ; and because लट् has an indicatory ढ, therefore, its substitute will also be supposed to have an indicatory ढ (I. 1. 57)."

A. To this we reply, 'the affix लट् is not दित् as it has two indicatory letters, ल् and ढ.

Q. If that be so, affixes like ल्युट् should also be called no दित् affixes, as they have also two indicatory letters.

A. To this we reply, that if ल्युट् be not regarded दित्, then the indicatory ढ of ल्युट् finds no scope any where: as the indicatory ढ of लट् has its scope in sūtra III. 4. 79. Therefore, the feminine of पचमान will be पचमाना ॥ Similarly, the indi-

catory इ of augments will not cause the application of the affix हीप्; thus पठिता विद्या ॥ Here the feminine of पठिता is formed by आ and not इ. This is indicated by sūtra IV. 3. 23, which says "augment मुद् is added to the affixes दुष् and दुष्त्". If the इ of मुद् could have made the affix दिन् for the purposes of this present sūtra; the anubandha इ had been unnecessarily added to the affixes दुष् and दुष्त् in the above.

(2) Of words ending in इ we have, m, सौपर्णेय f. सौपर्णेयी so also f. वेनेसेयी. The इ stands for the affix इक्; and it is replaced by एष् (VII. 1. 2). Thus सुपर्णा + इक् (IV. 1. 120) = सुपर्णा + एष् = सौपर्णेय (VII. 2. 118). There is no affix which is merely इ without any indicatory letters; and denoting the feminine; the only affix, as said above, is इक् ॥ Therefore, the following maxim does not apply here:—"When a term void of anubandhas (indicatory letters) is employed in grammar, it does not denote that which has an anubandha attached to it", and we cannot say that the इ of this sūtra refers to the anubandha-less इ of V. 3. 102 which is always Neuter.

(3) Of words in अष्, we have already said that the affix अष् here refers to both the Kṛit and the Taddhita affix 'aṇ'. Thus with the kṛit affix 'aṇ' we have कुम्भकार and नगरकार (III. 2. 1), the feminine of which is कुम्भकारी and नगरकारी ॥ With the Taddhita affix 'aṇ' we have औपगव (IV. 1. 92), the feminine of which is औपगवी ॥ Sometimes words formed by the addition of the affix ण are operated upon as if they were formed by अष् ॥ Thus चौरी, तापसी are the feminine of चौर and तापस (IV. 4. 62), sometimes words formed by ण are not so treated, as राण्डा, मौष्टा (IV. 2. 57).

(4) Words formed by अष् as औत्स f. औत्सी, औत्सपान, f. औत्सपानी, (IV. 1. 86). Though by IV. 1. 73 the affix हीन् would have come after the words ending in अष्, the re-employment of this affix in the present sūtra is for the purpose of preventing the application of the affix हीप् which would have presented itself by IV. 1. 63; that is even when 'jāti' is indicated, 'ṇish' is not to be employed here.

(5) The three affixes ह्यसप्, रणप् and माचप् are added by V. 2. 37; as, ऊरुह्यसी, ऊरुह्यसी, ऊरुमाची 'reaching to the thigh'. Similarly जानुह्यसी, जानुह्यसी, जानुमाची ॥

(6) So also with words formed by तयप् (V. 2. 42). As पञ्चतयी 'of which the parts are five' so also दशतयी ॥

(7) So also with words ending in इक् (IV. 4. 1) as, मासिकी 'a female dicer', शालाकिकी. The इ is replaced by इक् (VII. 3. 50).

(8) Similarly with words ending in इष् (V. 1. 18): as, लावणिकी 'elegant'. The affixes इक् and इष् are separately enumerated in this sūtra, in order to exclude the affix इन् &c. For had the word इ merely been used, then it would have meant all the three affixes इक्, इन् and इष्, which is not desired.

(9) Similarly with words ending in कश् (III. 2. 60) as, बाइशी, ताइशी ॥

(10) So also with words ending in स्वरप् (III. 2. 163) as इस्वरी 'swift',
जम्बरी ॥

Vart:—In addition to the foregoing, there should have been the enumeration of the affixes नश् and लश् (IV. 1. 87) and ईकृ (IV. 4. 59) and यदुन् (III. 2. 56) and of the words तृण and तदुन् 'a youth'. Thus स्त्रीणी 'a female', सौली 'a male', शाल्कीनी 'a female spear bearer', भाव्यंकरणी 'enriching; करणी or तदुनी 'a young woman'.

यञश्च ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ यञः, च, (स्त्रियां डीप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यञन्ताच्च प्रातिपदिकान् स्त्रियां डीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अपत्यमङ्गणं कतम्यम् ॥

16. The affix डीप् is employed, in denoting the feminine, after a Nominal-stem ending in 'यञ्' (IV. 1. 105).

Thus गार्ग्य + डीप् = गार्ग्य + ई (VI. 4. 148) = गार्ग + ई (VI. 4. 150) = गार्गी 'a female descendant of Garga'; so also वात्सी ॥

Vart:—This rule applies when the affix यञ् denotes a descendant, and not otherwise. Therefore ई will not be applied to form the feminine of द्वेष्य of द्वीप + यञ् (IV. 3. 10). Its feminine will be द्वेष्या 'living on or relating to an island'.

The separation of this sūtra from the last, (for the affix यञ् could well have been included in the same), is for the sake of the subsequent aphorisms; in which the anuvṛitti of यञ् only runs and not of others.

प्राचां स्फ स्तद्धितः ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राचां, स्फः, तद्धितः, (यञः स्त्रियां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राचाप्राचार्याणां मतेन यञन्तात् स्त्रियां स्फः प्रत्ययो भवति स च तद्धितसंज्ञः ॥

17. In the opinion of the Eastern Grammarians, the affix 'shpha' is employed after what ends with the affix 'yañ', and it is to be regarded as a Taddhita affix.

Of this affix स्फ the letter ष् is indicatory (I. 3. 6), and shows that the words formed by this affix will take 'nish' (IV. 1. 41). The feminine nature is here manifested by these two affixes jointly, viz by 'shpha' and 'nish'. The object of saying that 'shpha' is to be regarded as a taddhita affix, is that the word so formed may get the designation of prātipadika (I. 2. 46). The affix क is replaced by the substitute भायन (VII. 1. 2). Thus गार्ग्य + स्फ + डीप् = गार्ग्यायणी; so also वात्स्यायनी ॥ This being an optional rule, we have in the alternative, गार्गी and वात्सी ॥

The word सर्वत्र "every where", of the next sūtra is to be read into this, by a process inverse to that of anuvṛitti, in order to prohibit the applica-

tion of those rules even which would otherwise debar this. Thus IV. 1. 75 says :—‘the affix चाप् comes after भावव्य’ ॥ Here भावव्य ends in बप्, and by IV. 1. 16, the word भावव्य would have taken the affix णिप्: IV. 1. 75 debarred this. But according to Eastern Grammarians, here also the affix ‘shpha’ will be added. Thus भावव्यायनी ॥

सर्वत्र लोहितादिकतन्तेभ्यः ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सर्वत्र, लोहितादि कतन्तेभ्यः,
(यञः स्त्रियांष्फ)

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वत्र लोहितादिभ्यः कतपर्यन्तेभ्यो यमन्तेभ्यः स्त्रियां ष्फः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

18. The affix ‘shpha’ is invariably added in the feminine after the words beginning with ‘lohita’ and ending with ‘kata’, when they take the affix yan.

The words लोहित &c. are a subdivision of Gargādi class (IV. 1. 105). The present sūtra makes the application of the affix ष्फ, compulsory while it was optional in the last. The word कत refers to the independent prātipadika कत in the said subdivision, which follows immediately after the word कश्चि, and not to the word कुक्कत of the same class, where the word कत is not an independent full nominal-stem but a member only. Thus लोहित्यायनी, चांघ्रित्यायनी बाध्यायणी ॥

Kārikā कण्वास्तु शकलः पूर्वः कतावृत्तर इष्यते ।

पूर्वोत्तरे तदन्तादी ष्फाणो तच्च प्रयोजनम् ॥

For the purposes of the application of ष्फ and भण्, the word शकल which is enumerated in the Gaṇapāṭha after the word कण्व (See IV. 1. 105) should be regarded as if it stood immediately before कण्व and after कत ॥ Thus we have शकल्यायनी (with ष्फ), and शकलाः with भण्, meaning शकल्यत्वेभ्यो छात्राः ‘the pupils of Sākalya’.

कौरव्यमाण्डूकाभ्यांच ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ कौरव्य-माण्डूकाभ्याम्, च, (स्त्रियांष्फ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कौरव्य माण्डूक इत्येताभ्यां स्त्रियां ष्फः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ कौरव्यमाण्डूकयोः पञ्चरूपसंख्यानम् ॥

19. The affix ‘shpha’ is added, in the feminine, after the words कौरव्य and माण्डूक ॥

The word कौरव्य is formed by adding the affix ण्य to the base कुरु (IV. 1. 151); this word, ending in अ, would have formed its feminine by टाप् (IV. 1. 4), but for the present sūtra. So also by IV. 1. 119, the word माण्डूक is formed by भण् added to मण्डूक; and the feminine of māṇḍūka would have been formed by णिप् (IV. 1. 15), but for the present aphorism, which supersedes that affix. Thus कौरव्यायनी, माण्डूकायनी ॥

How do you explain the form कौरवी in the phrase कौरवी सेना ?

We explain it by saying that कौरवी is not the feminine of कौरव्य; but of कौरव, formed by adding अण् to कुरु by sūtra IV. 3. 120.

Vart.—The word भासुरि should be enumerated along with kauravya and māṇḍūkya. Thus भासुरायणी ॥ The word भासुरि is formed by the affix इङ् added to the word असुर; the word 'āsuri' would, therefore, have taken the affix अण् in forming the further derivative (IV. 2. 112). But according to the opinion of Patanjali, the word, 'āsuri' should form its further derivative (called also चपिक) by taking the affix छ (IV. 2. 114). Thus भासुरीयः कल्पः (तेन प्रोक्तम्) ॥

वयसि प्रथमे ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ वयसि, प्रथमे, (स्त्रियां डीप्)

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रथमे वयसि यव्यातिपदिकं भुत्वावर्त्तते ततः स्त्रियां डीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ वयस्यचरमइतिवक्तव्यम् ॥

20. The affix 'डीप्' is employed, in the feminine, after a Nominal-stem ending in अ and denoting early age.

The word वयः means the condition of the body as dependent upon time; such as, youth, old age &c. Words expressive of early age form their feminine by ई, though ending in अ ॥ Thus, कुमारी 'a girl'. किशोरी 'a young girl' बर्करी 'a she-kid'.

Why do we say denoting 'early age'? Observe स्यदिर 'an old woman'; वृद्धा 'an old woman'. Why do we say ending in अ? Observe शिशु, which is both masculine and feminine.

Vart.—The sūtra should have been अचरमे वयसि 'words expressive of not old age'? Thus वयसी 'a young woman', चिरणी 'a young woman'. These words denote the second stage of life, and not the first, i. e. they denote women who have attained their maturity.

How do you explain the form कन्या 'a girl'? This is an exception, and Pāṇini himself uses the word 'kanyā' showing that it is a valid form; as in sūtra IV. 1. 116.

The words like उच्चाश्रया 'an infant girl that does not know how to lie down properly' लोहितपादिका 'a female infant whose feet are still tender and red' do not directly, but metaphorically, express age, and hence are not governed by this rule.

द्विगोः ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्विगोः, (स्त्रियां डीप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्विगुसंज्ञकान् प्रातिपदिकान् स्त्रियां डीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

21. The affix 'डीप्' comes in the feminine after a Nominal-stem ending in short अ, which is a 'Dvigu' compound.

Thus त्र्यम्बुकी, पञ्चम्बुकी ॥ But we find त्रिफला 'the three myrobalans', because this is one of the words spoken of as 'अञ्ज &c' (IV. 1. 4).

अपरिमाणविस्ताचितकम्बल्येभ्योनतद्धितलुकि ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपरिमाण-
विस्त-आचित-कम्बल्येभ्यः, न, तद्धित-लुकि, (डीप् द्विगोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपरिमाणान्ताद् द्विगोर्विस्ताचित कम्बल्यान्ताच्च तद्धितलुकि सति डीप् प्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

22. The affix डीप् is not employed, when a Taddhita affix is elided, after a Dvigu compound ending in a word not denoting a mass or measure ; or in 'bista', 'Achita', and 'kambalya'.

This debars 'nip' which otherwise would have presented itself by virtue of the last sūtra. The words विस्तः 'a weight of gold equal to 80 Raktikas', आचितम् 'a measure of 10 cart-loads or 80,000 tola's'; and कम्बल्यः 'a measure', all denote measure; and are the only words expressing measure to which this rule applies. The word परिमाण means 'measure', as distinguished from संख्या 'a Numeral', See V. 1. 19, &c.

Thus पञ्चाश्व is a Dvigu compound, meaning 'purchased for five horses.' Here the Taddhita affix ङम् (V. 1. 37) giving the sense of 'purchased with' has been elided by V. 1. 28. This compound does not end in a word denoting parimāṇa technically so called or a measure. The feminine of this word will not be formed by डीप् but by ङम्, thus, पञ्चाश्वी 'a female purchased for five horses'.

The words denoting 'time' or 'number' are not words denoting 'measure' as understood in this sūtra by the word 'parimāṇa'. Thus, द्विवर्षा, 'a two years old female child', त्रिवर्षा 'a three years old female child' (V. 2. 37 *Vart.*) So also द्विघाता 'a female purchased for two hundreds', similarly त्रिघाता ॥ So also with the words विस्त &c. As द्विविस्ता 'purchased for two bistas', त्रिविस्ता, द्वाघाता, त्र्याघाता, द्विकम्बल्या, and त्रिकम्बल्या, &c.

Why do we say 'not ending in a word denoting a Parimāṇa or a 'measure'? Observe द्वाधकी, त्र्याधकी "a female purchased for two or three ādhaka". Here ādhaka means a measure equal to 7 lb. 11 oz. avoird.

Why do we say 'when a Taddhita affix is elided'? In 'Samāhāra Dvigu' compounds, the affix 'nip' will apply. Thus पञ्चाश्वी 'an aggregate of five horses', so also त्र्याश्वी ।

काण्डान्तात् क्षेत्रे ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ काण्ड-अन्तात्, क्षेत्रे, (द्विगोः तद्धितलुकि डीप् न) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ काण्डाद्यन्ताद् द्विगोस्तद्धितलुकि सति क्षेत्रे वाच्ये डीप् प्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

23. The affix डीप् is not employed after an adjectival Dvigu compound, ending in the word 'काण्ड', where the Taddhita affix is elided, when the compound means a field.

Thus द्विकाण्डा क्षेत्रमन्ति: 'a division of a field of the measure of two kâṇḍas.' Here, the word द्विकाण्ड is a Dvigu compound ending in 'kâṇḍa'; the Taddhita affixes denoting measure enjoined by V. 2. 37, have been elided by the *vārtika* 'प्रमाणे लो द्विगोर्नित्यम्' given under the same sūtra. The feminine, therefore, of this word will not be formed by 'ālp' but by दाप्; so also द्विकाण्डा क्षेत्रमन्ति: ॥

The term 'kâṇḍa' is a word expressive of non-measure; and, therefore, the prohibition contained in the last sūtra applies to it; the present sūtra is made to regulate this prohibition. That is to say, the prohibition contained in the last sūtra is not universally applicable in the case of Dvigu compounds ending in 'kâṇḍa'; it applies to cases where the compound refers to superficial land measure. Therefore we have, द्विकाण्डी रज्जुः 'a rope two kâṇḍas long'; त्रिकाण्डी रज्जुः 'a rope three kâṇḍas long'.

पुरुषात्प्रमाणेऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुरुषात्, प्रमाणे, अन्यतरस्याम्, (द्विगोः तद्धितलुकिनडीप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रमाणे यः पुरुषश्चस्तदन्ताद् द्विगोस्तद्धितलुकि सति अन्यतरस्यां न डीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

24. The affix 'डीप्' is not optionally employed after a Dvigu compound, where the Taddhita affix is elided, when the compound ends in the word 'purusha', referring to measure.

Thus द्विपुरुषा or द्विपुरुषी इति 'a mote two *purusha* wide' so also त्रिपुरुषी or त्रिपुरुषा &c. The present sūtra ordains an option where IV. 1. 22 would have made the prohibition universal. Why do we say 'when referring to measure'? Observe द्विपुरुषा 'a female purchased in exchange for two males; No option is allowed here. Where the Taddhita affix is not elided, the present rule does not apply. Therefore in Samāhāra Dvigu we have द्विपुरुषी or त्रिपुरुषी ॥

बहुव्रीहेरुधसो डीप् ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुव्रीहेः, ऊधसः, डीप् (स्त्रियां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऊधस् चान्ताद् बहुव्रीहेः स्त्रियां डीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

25. The affix 'डीप्' is employed, in the feminine, after a Bahuvrīhi compound ending in the word ūdhas an udder'.

Thus the Bahuvrīhi compound of कुण्ड 'a bowl' and ऊधस् will be कुण्डो-धस्; then the final of ūdhas is replaced by the substitute अनङ् (V. 4. 131); thus we have कुण्डोधन्; which would have been liable to the rules IV. 1. 12, 13. *ante*; the present sūtra enjoins डीप् instead. Thus कुण्डोष्णी (VI. 4. 134) 'a woman with full bosom'; षटोष्णी 'a cow with udders like jars'.

Why do we say 'after a Bahuvrīhi compound'? Observe प्राप्ता ऊधः = प्रा-प्राप्ता: (II. 2. 4) which is a Tatpurusha compound.

The Sûtra IV. 1. 28 also is debarred in this case: for though the penultimate अ is elided by the VI. 4. 134, yet rule IV. 1. 28 does not apply here.

The substitution of अन् for the final of रुधस् takes place only then, when the feminine nature is to be expressed and not otherwise. Therefore in the masculine we have महोधा पर्जन्यः 'the big-bosomed cloud'.

संख्याव्ययादे ङीप् ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ संख्या-अव्यय-आदेः, ङीप् (बहुव्रीहे रुधस्तः स्त्रियां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संख्यादेरव्ययादेश्च बहुव्रीहेरुधस्तस्यान्तात् ङीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

26. The affix ङीप् comes in the feminine, after a Bahuvrîhi compound ending in 'âdhas', beginning with a Numeral or an Indeclinable.

This sûtra ordains 'nip', where by the last sûtra there would have been 'âish'. Thus द्वी+रुधस्+अनङ्+ङीप् (V. 4. 131)=द्व्यूधी 'having two udders'; so also त्र्यूधी, 'having three udders'. The above are Bahuvrîhi compounds beginning with a Numeral. Similarly अष्ट्यूधी 'many-uddered.'; निर्यूधी 'having no udders.'

Why do we say 'beginning with'? So that the rule may apply to compounds like द्विविधोऽ्यूधी and त्रिविधोऽ्यूधी, in which the words 'dvividha' and 'trividha', though not Sankhyâ are words which *begin* with a Sankhyâ.

दामहायनान्ताच्च ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ दाम-हायनन्तात्, च, (स्त्रियां ङीप् संख्या बहुव्रीहेः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संख्यादेर्बहुव्रीहेर्दामहायनान्ताच्चायनशब्दान्ताच्च स्त्रियां ङीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ हायनो वयसि स्मृतः ॥

27. The affix ङीप् comes, in the feminine, after a Bahuvrîhi compound beginning with a Numeral, and ending with the words dâman 'a rope', and hâyana 'a year'.

The word दामन् was liable to be operated upon by three rules, by, IV. 1. 13 ordaining डाप्, by IV. 1. 11 prohibiting totally the affixing of ङीप् and IV. 1. 28 ordaining nip optionally: the present sûtra ordains nip to the exclusion of all those rules. As द्विसात्री 'a (mare) bound by two ropes'. त्रिसात्री ॥

Similarly हायन would have taken long आ by IV. 1. 4, this ordains long ई ॥ Thus द्विहायनी 'two years (old girl)', त्रिहायणी; चतुर्हायणी ॥

Vîrti:—The word 'hâyana' must denote 'age', for the purposes of this sûtra. Therefore we have no nip here:—द्विहायना साला 'a hall of two years existence'. So also त्रिहायना and चतुर्हायना ॥ Moreover in these latter cases the न is not changed into ञ; for when हायन denotes 'age', it is then only that the न is changed into ञ and not otherwise.

अन उपधालोपिनोऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनः, उपधा-लोपिनः-अ-
न्यतरस्यां (बहुव्रीहे डीप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अग्रन्तो यो बहुव्रीहिरुपधालोपो तस्मादन्यतरस्यां डीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

28. The affix डीप् optionally comes after that Bahuvrīhi compound, which ending in the syllable अन् loses its penultimate अ ॥

Thus बहुराजन् is a Bahuvrīhi compound ending in अन्; in applying णिप्, it loses its penultimate by VI. 4. 134 (अग्रोपोऽनः there is elision of अ of अन् when a *bha* affix follows). Thus बहुराज्ञी 'having many kings'. In the alternative, when णिप् is not added, we may add the affix डाप् by IV. 1. 13. Thus बहुराजा, बहुराजे, बहुराजाः ॥ Or we may apply the prohibition 'contained in IV. 1. 12 and have बहुराजा, बहुराजानौ, बहुराजानः ॥ when the penultimate is not elided we cannot apply the affix डीप् at all: in cases of such compounds there are only two forms of the feminine noun as सुपर्वा, सुपर्वे, सुपर्वाः or सुपर्वा सुपर्वाणौ. सुपर्वाणः ॥ That is to say we apply IV. 1. 13 and 12 only; for in the case of सुपर्वन् &c. rule VI. 4. 137 prevents the elision of the penultimate न्; (न संयोगादमनन्तान्, there is not elision of the अ of अन् when it comes after a conjunct consonant ending in व or न) ॥

नित्यम् संज्ञाछन्दसोः ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ नित्यं, संज्ञा, छन्दसः (अनउपधा-
लोपिनोऽन्यतरस्यां डीप्)

वृत्तिः ॥ अग्रन्ताद्बहुव्रीहेरुपधालोपिनः संज्ञायां विषये छन्दसि चनित्यं डीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

29. The affix डीप् necessarily comes in the Chhandas and in forming Names, after that Bahuvrīhi compound which ending in the syllable अन् loses its penultimate अ ॥

This is an exception to the last rule; for while that enjoined the optional, the present enjoins the compulsory application of the affix डीप् ॥ Thus सुराज्ञी 'the city called Surājñī'; अतिराज्ञी 'the city of Atirājñī'. Similarly in the Chhandas we have गौः पञ्चरात्री, एकरात्री, द्विरात्री 'a cow having five udders, one udder, or two udders'. एकमूर्धा समानमूर्धा ॥

केवलमामकभागधेयपापपरसमानार्थकृतसुमङ्गलं भेषजाच्च ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥
केवल-मामक-भागधेय-पाप-अपर-समान-आर्थकृत-सुमङ्गल-भेषजात्, च, (संज्ञाछ-
न्दसोः डीप् स्त्रियां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ केवलादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यः संज्ञायांछन्दसि विषये स्त्रियां डीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

30. The affix डीप् necessarily comes in denoting the feminine, after the following Nominal-stems when employed to express a Name or in the Chhandas :—केवल, मामक, भागधेय, पाप, अपर, समान, आर्थकृत, सुमङ्गल and भेषज ॥

The phrase संज्ञा छन्दसोः of the last sūtra is understood here also. Thus केवली in the Chhandas, as opposed to केवला in the ordinary language, when not denoting a Name; so also मामंकी and मामिका; भागधेयी as भागधरुणयोर्मगंधेयी and भोगधेया; वापी and वापा; अपरी as उताऽपरंश्चोमपवा विजिग्ये; (Rigveda I. 1. 13) and अपरा; समानी प्रवाणी and समाना; आर्यकृती and आर्यकृता; सुमङ्गली (Rigveda X. 85. 33) सुमङ्गला; भेषजी and भेषजा ॥ सुमङ्गल takes डीप् also by IV. 1. 41, as belonging to Gaurādi class No. 86.

रात्रेऽध्याजसौ ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ रात्रेः, च, अजसौ, (संज्ञा छन्दसोः डीप्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ असुविषयादन्यत्र संज्ञायां छन्दसि च रात्रिश्चान्ताम् डीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥
वार्षिकम् ॥ अजसादिभित्तिवन्तश्च ॥

31. The affix डीप् comes after the word रात्रि in the Chhandas, and in denoting a Name, except when the affix जस् (nominative plural) is added.

Thus या रात्री हृष्टा, रात्रीभिः (3rd pl); (Rigveda X. 127. 1. I. 35. 1) but in the nominative plural we have रात्रयः, the regular plural of the word रात्रि, as in the sentence यास्ता रात्रयः, instead of रात्र्यः ॥

Vārt :—According to Kātyāyana, nīp is not added, not only when we apply the nominative plural termination जस्; but in all other terminations beginning with जस् also. Thus रात्रि सहोदित्वा; here in the accusative singular case also the डीप् is not employed.

But how do you explain the form रात्र्यः in the following तिगिर्यत्ने-वगुण्डिताश्च रात्र्यः; This 'rātrya' is the nominative plural of 'rātri' which is formed by the feminine affix nīp; and not by nīsh. The forms evolved by adding डीप् or डीष् are one and the same, except with regard to accent; that formed by nīsh has udātta accent on the final: the other has it on the initial. The word रात्रि is formed by the kṛit affix त्रिप् (Un. IV. 67), and therefore, it is a word which is governed by IV. 1. 45 because it is a word falling in Bahuvadi class, by virtue of the general subrule "a word ending with the vowel इ of a kṛit affix, other than क्तिन् belongs to Bahuvadi class; some say that every word ending in इ, if it has not the force of the affix क्तिन् belongs to this class". Therefore it takes डीप् in forming the feminine.

अन्तर्वत्पतिवतोर्नुक् ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तर्वत्-पतिवतः, नुक् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अन्तर्वत् पतिवतोर्नुक् भवति डीप् च प्रत्ययः ॥

32. The augment नुक् is added to the words अन्तर्वत् and पतिवत्, when the affix डीप् is added to form the feminine.

This sūtra points out the base and teaches the addition of the augment नुक् ॥ When this augment is added, (and it must be added at the end,

by sūtra I. 1. 46), the forms become **अन्तर्वत्** and **पतिवत्**; and these words must take *hlp* by virtue of IV. 1. 5, if not by this sūtra. Thus we have **अन्तर्वती** and **पतिवती** ॥ This irregular formation of the feminine is employed only then, when the sense of the words so formed is 'a pregnant female' and 'one whose husband is living' respectively. Therefore we have not the above forms in the following :—**अयमे स्वया पतिमती पृथिवी**; here the word **पतिमती** qualifies the word **पृथिवी** and has not the sense of 'having the husband living', therefore its formation is regular. Similarly when the sense is not of 'a pregnant female', the feminine will not be **अन्तर्वती**; in fact there will be no affixing of **वत्** (**मत्**). Because **मत्** is added to words possessing certain attribute, as described in V. 2. 94, while the word **अन्तर्** has the sense of location, and can never be in apposition with the sense of **अस्ति** "having" as required by V. 2. 94. The word **अन्तर्** would not therefore take **मत्** ॥ It does so irregularly by this sūtra. The **व** is changed to **व** by VIII. 2. 9 in **अन्तर्वत्** ॥ The change of **व** to **व** in **पतिवत्** is however irregular.

The augment **जुक्** is optionally added to these words in the Vedas :—
as **सान्त्वर्वती** or **सान्त्वर्वती देवानुपैत्** ॥ **पतिवती** or **पतिवती वरुणवत्सा** ॥

पत्युर्नोयज्ञसंयोगे ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ पत्युः, नः, यज्ञसंयोगे, (स्त्रियां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पतिशब्दस्य नकारादेशः स्त्रियां विधीयते ॥

33. The substitute **न्** replaces the final **इ** of **पति** before the feminine affix **डीप्**, when the word so formed means 'a wife, who takes part in the sacrifices of her husband'.

Thus **पत्नि** वाचं यच्छ ॥ The feminine **पत्नी** means legitimate wife, she who is entitled to take part in the sacrifices of her husband. The word **यज्ञसंयोग** is an Instrumental Tatpuruṣa compound and means "related through sacrifice" i. e. who shares the fruits of and is entitled to participate in, the sacrifices of her husband. But when the sense is not that of 'wife', the feminine of **पति** will be **पति** as ग्रामस्य पतिरियं ब्राह्मणी 'this Brahman is the head or mistress of this village'. If the word **पत्नी** means 'the wife who takes part in the sacrifices of her husband', it cannot be applied to the wife of a Sūdra, for a Sūdra cannot perform a sacrifice, *a fortiori* not his wife? The term **पत्नी** is, however, extended to the wife of a Sūdra also, by analogy, as the marriage of a Sūdra also takes place by offering sacrifice to Fire and making it a witness.

विभाषासपूर्वस्य ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, सपूर्वस्य (पत्युर्नः, स्त्रियां, अनुपसर्जनस्य) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पतिशब्दान्तस्य प्रातिपदिकस्य सपूर्वस्यानुपसर्जनस्य स्त्रियां विभाषा नकारादेशो भवति डीप् तु लभ्यत एव ॥

34. In forming the feminine with the affix डीप्, न् is optionally the substitute of the final इ of पति, when the latter is preceded by another word.

The word सपुद्गम् means when the word पति is not an upasarjana, but stands at the end of a compound. Thus वृद्धपतिः or वृद्धपत्नी; स्थूलपतिः or स्थूलपत्नी ॥ This is an example of aprāpta-vibhāṣā. Because it is free from the limitations of 'yajña-sanyoga' of the last sūtra. Why do we say when it is preceded by another word? Observe पतिरियं ब्राह्मणी ग्रामस्य, 'this Brahman lady is the mistress of the village.' Here the feminine is पति and not पत्नी ॥

नित्यंसपत्न्यादिषु ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ नित्यं, सपत्नी-आदिषु, (पत्युर्नः स्त्रि०)
वृत्तिः ॥ सपत्न्यादिषु नित्यं वस्तुनोक्त्यापदेशो भवति डीप् तु लभ्यत एव ॥

35. In forming the feminine with the affix डीप्, the word पति always takes the substitute न्, in the words like 'सपत्नी' and the rest.

This enjoins the necessary and not optional substitution of न् for the final इ of पति, before the affix डीप्, in the cases of certain words. The word 'nitya' is used in the aphorism for the sake of precision. Thus सपत्नी, एकपत्नी ॥ The compound of the following words with पत्नी are governed by this rule:— 1 समान 'equal' 2 एक 'one', 3 वीर 'hero', 4 पिण्ड 'a cake', 5 भ्रातृ 'brother' 6 पुत्र 'a son', and 7 दास 'a slave' (this only in the Chhandas).

पूतकृतोरैच ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूतकृतोः, ऐच, (स्त्रियां डीप्)
वृत्तिः ॥ पूतकृतुशब्दस्य स्त्रियैकापदेशो भवति डीप् प्रत्ययः ॥

36. In forming the feminine, the letter ऐ is the substitute of the final of the word पूतकृतु, when the affix डीप् is added.

Thus पूतकृतायै 'the wife of Pūtakratu'. This and the two succeeding sūtras, are in a way more intimately connected with IV. 1. 48, inasmuch as the sense of the feminine words must be that of 'wife of', otherwise these sūtras will not apply. Thus if the meaning is not that of 'wife of', the word पूतकृतुः will be both masculine and feminine as well, meaning 'she by whom sacrifices (कृतवः) are sanctified (पूताः)'.

वृषाकप्यग्निकुसितकुसीदानामुदात्तः ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृषाकपि-अग्नि-कुसित-कुसीदानां, उदात्तः (ऐ डीप् स्त्रियां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वृषाकप्यादीनामुदात्त एकापदेशो भवति स्त्रियां डीप् च प्रत्ययः ॥

37. In forming the feminine with the affix डीप्, the letter ऐ having udātta accent is the substitute of the finals of वृषाकपि, अग्नि, कुसित and कुसीद् ॥

The words वृषाकपि and कुसीर have udâtta accent on the middle vowel (Phiṭ Sû II. 19), the feminine of these has udâtta, however, on the final. The words 'agni' and the rest have the udâtta on the final (Phiṭ sū I. 1), their substitute ऐ will necessarily be udâtta, by the rule of sthānivat bhāva, even if the present sūtra had not explicitly declared it to be so. Thus वृषाकपायी (Rig Veda X. 86. 13) 'the wife of Vṛishakapi', अग्नायी, (Rig Ved. I. 22. 12) the wife of 'Agni', कुसितायी 'wife of Kusita', कुसिदायी 'the wife of Kusidai'. The present rule only applies when the sense of the feminine word is that of 'wife of'. Otherwise we have वृषाकपिः स्त्री 'the women Vṛishakapi' and not वृषाकपायी ॥ For the accent of the word वृष, See VI. I. 203.

मनोरौवा ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ मनोः, औ, वा, (ऐ उदात्तः स्त्रियांङीप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मनुष्यान् स्त्रियांङीप् प्रत्ययो भवति औकारश्चन्तादेशः ऐकारश्चोदात्तः ॥

38. In forming the feminine with the affix डीप्, औ is optionally the substitute of the final of मनु, (as well as the udâtta ऐ) ॥

The phrases ऐ and उदात्त are understood. The force of वा is to make the substitution optional. Thus we have three forms, मनायी or मनायी or मनुः, all meaning 'the wife of Manu'. The word मनु has udâtta accent on the first vowel, as it is formed from मन् by the affix उ (Uṇ I. 10), which by Uṇ I. 9 is treated as having an indicative न्, and affixes having indicative न् throw the accent on the first syllable. (VI. I. 197)

वर्णादनुदात्तात्तोपधात्तोः ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ वर्णाद्, अनुदात्तात्, तोपधात्, तः, नः (वा डीप्स्त्रियां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वर्णवाचिनः प्रातिपदिकादनुदात्तात्तोपधात्तोपधाद्वाङीप् प्रत्ययो भवति, तकारस्य च नकापदेशो भवति ॥

वार्षिकम् ॥ पिशङ्गावुपसंख्यानम् ॥ वार्षिकम् ॥ असितपलितयोः प्रतिषेधः ॥

वार्षिकम् ॥ छन्दसिक्लमित्येके ॥ भाषायामपीष्यते ॥

39. The affix डीप् is optionally employed after a Nominal-stem expressive of colour, ending in a gravely accented vowel, and having the letter त् as its penultimate letter: and the letter न् is substituted in the room of त् ॥

Thus of एत 'variegated'; the feminine is एता or एनी 'variegated', so भ्येता or भ्येनी 'black', हरिता or हरिणी 'green'. All these words have udâtta accent on the first vowel either by Rule VI. I. 197 (अनित्यादिर्नित्यम् "word formed by affixes having an indicative न् or त् have udâtta accent on the first vowel";)

because these words are formed by the Upadi affixes ङ् (Up III. 86) and इत् (III. 93), or by the Phiṭ sūtra II. 10 (वर्णानां षण्तिनितान्तानां "of words expressive of colour and ending in षण्, or ति or णि or न्, the udātta accent falls on the first vowel").

Why do we say "expressive of color"? Observe महता, प्रस्ता ॥ These words are also acutely accented on the first syllable, by rule VI. 2. 49 (गतिरनन्तरः "the first word retains its natural accent in a compound of a gati word with a word formed by the affix kta"). But as these words do not express color, their feminine does not take śip.

Why do we say "ending in a gravely accented vowel"? Observe श्वेता 'white.' Here though the word expresses 'color', yet it has acute (instead of grave) accent on the final (by rule of Phiṭ sūtra I. 21 घृतादीनां च "the words ghṛta &c. have udātta on the final").

Why do we say "having the letter ण as its penultimate letter"? Otherwise the affix nish will be employed in forming the feminine.

The words for the application of this rule must end in the letter ण in the masculine. Otherwise this rule will not apply. As शितिर्ब्राह्मणी 'a black Brahman woman'. Here शिति is a word expressive of color, it has a penultimate ण, has anudātta accent on the final (VI. 1. 197) as it is formed by the affix क्तिन्; but as it does not end with ण, its feminine is not formed with śip.

Vart.—The affix śip comes also after the word पिच्छः; as, पिच्छी 'of tawny color'.

Vart.—There is prohibition in the case of the words असित and पलित; as असिता 'black' and पलिता 'grey'.

Vart.—According to some, the substitute क्त्वा replaces the final of these two words असित and पलित in the Vedic literature. As असिक्त्वा (Rig Veda IX. 73. 29); पलिक्त्वा (R. Veda V. 2. 4). According to some authorities, these latter forms are valid in literature other than the Vedic :—As गतो गणस्तूर्णमसिक्त्वाकानां ॥

अन्यतोडीप् ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्यतः, डीप्, (घर्णादनुदात्तात् स्त्रियां) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ वर्णवाचिनः प्रातिपदिकादनुदात्तान्तात् स्त्रियां डीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

40. The affix डीप् is employed in the feminine after every other word expressive of color and ending with an anudātta accent.

The word वा of IV. 1. 38 does not govern this sūtra. The word अन्यतः means in other cases than those governed by the last aphorism i. e. after words which have *not* ण as penultimate. The difference between śip and nish affixes consists in accent, the former being gravely accented (III. 1. 4) and the latter acute. Thus सारङ्गी, कल्पापी, रावली ॥

When the word does not express color, this rule does not apply. As खट्वा 'a bed-sted'.

When the word does not end with a gravely accented vowel, this will not apply, as, कृष्णा, कपिला ॥

पिद्गौरादिभ्यश्च ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ व-इत्-गौर-आदिभ्यः, च, (स्त्रियांङीष्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ विद्भवः प्रातिपादिकेभ्यो गौरादिभ्यश्च स्त्रियां ङीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

41. The affix ङीष् is employed in forming the feminine after words ending with affixes which have an indicatory व् and after the words गौर and the rest.

Thus by Sūtra III. 1. 145 (शिल्पिनि षुन्) the affix षुन् is added to a root, to form noun of agency, denoting an artist. The feminine of the words so formed, will take ङीष्. As, नर्तकी 'an actress', खनकी 'a digger'; रज्जकी 'a dyer'. So also the words गौर &c ; as गोरी, मत्सी । The following is the list of words belonging to Gaurādi class.

1 गौर, 2 मत्स्य, 3 पन्थ्य, 4 बाह्म, 5 पिङ्गल 6 ह्य, 7 गव्य, 8 मुक्य, 9 कृष्य, 10 पुद, 11 तुण 12 ह्ण, 13 ह्ण, 14 हरिण, 15 कौकण, (काकण,) 16 पदर, 17 उकण, (आमल) 18 आमलक, 19 कुशक, 20 बिम्ब, 21 बरर, 22 फर्करक (कर्कर) 23 तर्कार, 24 शर्कार, 25 पुष्कर, 26 शिखण्ड, 27 ललह 28 शच्छण्ड 29 सनन्द 30 सुषम, 31 सुषव 32 आलिन 33 गजुज, 34 पाण्डव 35 आढक, 36 आनन्द, 37 आभ्यस्थ 38 सृपाद, 39 आलक (आपक्षिक), 40 शच्छुल, 41 सूर्य (सूर्य) 42 शूर्प, 43 सूच, 44 शूष (शूष) 45 शूय, 46 सूप, 47 मेय, 48 वल्लक, 49 धातवा, 50 सल्लक, 51 मालक, 52 मालत, 53 साल्वक, 54 वेतस, 55 वृक्ष (वृक्ष) 56 अतस, 57 उभय, 58 भृङ्ग, 59 मह, 60 मड, 61 छह, 62 पेच, 63 मेह, 64 भन् 65 तक्षन्, 66 अनडुही, 67 अनडुही, 68 । एषणः करणे । 69 देह, 70 देहल, 71 काकारन 72 गवाहन, 73 तेजम, 74 रजन, 75 लवण, 76 औदाहमानि (औदाहमानि) 77 गौतम (गौतम) 78 पारक, 79 अयस्थूण (अयःस्थूण) 80 भौतिकि, 81 भौलिकि, 82 भौलिकि, 83 यान 84 मेध, 85 आलम्बि, 86 आलम्बि, 87 आलम्बि, 88 आलम्बि, 89 केवाल, 90 आपक, 91 आरद, 92 नद, 93 टोट, 94 नोट, 95 मूलाद, 96 शातन, 97 पोतन, 98 पातन, 99 पाठन (पानद) 100 आस्तरण, 101 अधिकरण, 102 अधिकार 103 अग्रहायणी (आग्रहायणी) 104 प्रत्यवरोहिणी 105 सेचन, 106 सुमङ्गलास्तज्ञायाम् । 107 अण्डर 108 सुन्दर, 109 मण्डल, 110 मन्थर, 111 मंगल 112 पद, 113 पिण्ड, 114 वण्ड, 115 ऊर्द्व, 116 गूर्द्व, 117 शान, 118 सूद्व, 119 औड (आर्द्व) 120 हृद्व (हृद्व) 121 पाण्ड, 122 भाण्डल (भाण्ड) 123 लोहाण्ड, 124 कद्व, 125 कन्द्व, 126 कद्व, 127 तरुण, 128 तलुन, 129 कल्माष, 130 बृहन्, 131 महन्, 132 सोम, 133 सोधर्म । 134 रोहिणी नक्षत्रे । 135 रेवती नक्षत्रे । 136 बिकल, 137 निष्कल 138 पुष्कल । 139 कटाच्छ्रोणिवचने । पिप्पल्यादयश्च । 140 पिप्पली, 141 हरितकी (हरीतकी) 142 कौशातकी, 143 शगी, 144 वरी, 145 घरी, 146 पृथिवी, 147 क्रोष्टु, 148 मातामह, 149 पितामह, 150 सुगेड, 151 सुव, 152 सूर्य, 153 सकलक. 154 आलिङ्गि, 155 पावन, 156 एत, 157 विटक, 158 भट्ट, 159 रहन, 160 कन्ध, 161 कण ॥

N.B.—The word गौर though denoting color, is finally acute by virtue of this sūtra ; the word मत्स्य &c. being jāti words having a penultimate व् would

not have taken ङीप् (IV. 1. 63) but for this sūtra; भृश् and लक्ष्म would have taken डाप् (IV. 1. 13), एषप् is formed by स्युद् and would have taken ङीप् (IV. 1. 15) इत्येतेऽन्या-एषणी 'a balance, a probe'. गौतम would take ङीप् also by IV. 1. 73. Similarly it may be shown why the several words have been included in this list. By the *vartika* मांतीरि पिच्च given under IV. 2. 36, the affix ग्रामह in माताग्रह is treated as having an indicatory ष ॥ The word माताग्रह will take ङीप् because it is पितृ; its inclusion in the list of Gaurādi indicates that the rule of ङीप् application, because a word is पितृ, is not universal (अनित्यः पितृलक्षणो ङीप्) ॥ Therefore we have forms like इष्टा &c.

ज्ञानपदकुण्डगोण स्थलभाजनागकालनीलकुशकामुककवराद् वृत्त्यमात्रवपनाकृति
माश्राणा स्थौल्यवर्णानाच्छादनाऽयोविकारमैथुनेच्छाकेशवेशेषु ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ ज्ञान-
पद-कुण्ड-गोण-स्थल-भाज-नाग-काल-नील-कुश-कामुक-कवराद्, वृत्ति-अमत्र-अव-
पन-अकृतिमा-श्राणा-स्थौल्य-वर्ण-अनाच्छादन-अयोविकार-मैथुनेच्छा-केशवेशेषु (स्त्रि
यांङीष्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ज्ञानपदादिभ्य एकादशभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्य एकादश वृत्त्यादिष्वर्थेषु यथासंख्यं ङीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

42. The affix ङीप् is employed after the eleven words 'jānapada' &c. in the sense of 'profession' &c. respectively; i. e. after the words 1. ज्ञानपद 2. कुण्ड, 3. गोण, 4. स्थल 5. भाज, 6. नाग, 7. काल, 8. नील, 9. कुश, 10. कामुक, and कवर; the affix ङीप् is employed when the sense is that of 1. 'profession or living' 2. 'a bowl', 3. 'a sack or vessel for keeping grain', 4. 'a natural spot of ground'; 5. 'a cooked food or rice-gruel', 6. 'stout', 7. 'black-coloured', 8. 'blue-coloured other than cloth', 9. 'a plough-share', 10. 'a libidinous female', 11. 'a fellet or braid of hair', respectively.

Thus ज्ञानपदी 'a profession', otherwise ज्ञानपदी, the difference being in accent only. For this word is formed by adding the affix अम् to janapada, by sūtra IV. 1. 86, as it belongs to Utsadi class of words: in forming the feminine the affix ङीप् will be added in this latter case, thus throwing the acute accent on the first syllable.

(2) So also कुण्डी 'bowl-shaped vessel', otherwise कुण्डा 'a name of Durga'. (3) गोणी 'a sack' यच्च धान्यादि प्रक्षिप्य नीयते otherwise गोणा, a particular name. (4) स्थली 'a place not prepared by artificial improvement'; otherwise स्थल्य as स्थल्योदकं परिगृह्णन्ति ॥ (5) भीजा 'cooked', otherwise भाजा, (6) नागा 'a stout woman', otherwise नागा ॥ The word नाग when a guṇa-vachana word i. e. a word expressive of quality, in the sense of 'stoutness', takes the affix ङीप् in the feminine; otherwise टाप् when expressing general qualities. When it is a jati-

vachana word it takes ङीष् under all circumstances. (7) काली 'a black-coloured female', otherwise काल 'cruel' (8) नीली 'a blue-coloured animal or indigo' The word मनाच्छादन in the sūtra is rather too wide, it should be confined to the two senses above indicated i. e. when it applies to a plant called indigo or to animals'. Such as नालागौः, or नीली वटवा; or when it denotes appellative as नीली ॥ In other cases we have नील 'a blue-coloured cloth'. (9) कुशी 'a plough share', otherwise कुशा 'a rope or a kind of grass' (10) कामकी 'a libidinous or lustful woman' otherwise कामका 'a woman desirous of wealth'. (11) कबरी 'a fillet or braid of hair', otherwise कबर 'mixed, variegated'.

शोणात् प्राचाम् ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ शोणात्, प्राचाम् (स्त्रियां ङीष्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शोणशब्दात्प्राचामाचार्याणां मतेन स्त्रियां ङीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

43. The affix ङीष् is employed in the feminine according to the opinion of the Eastern Grammarians, after the word शोण ॥

Thus शोणी or शोणा वटवा 'a red or bay mare'. By *Phit Sūtra* II. 10 referred to already in IV. 1. 39 the udātta in शोण falls on the first syllable, and by IV. 1. 40 it would have taken ङीष् always; but the present sūtra makes a *niyama* rule and restricts the application of ङीष् according to the opinion of Eastern Grammarians only, and not of others.

घोतो गुणवचनात् ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, उतः, गुण वचनात् (स्त्रियां ङीष्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गुणवचनात् प्रातिपदिकाद् उकापन्तात् स्त्रियां वा ङीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ वसुशब्दाद् गुणवचनात् ङीष्वायुशब्दार्थम् ॥

वा० ॥ खरसंयोगोपधात्प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

44. The affix ङीष् is optionally employed in the feminine after a word ending in short उ, and being expressive of a quality.

The word गुणवचनः means what expresses quality: i. e. "words not being words formed by primitive or secondary affixes, or other words entitled to the name of *saṅkhyā* or *sarvaṇman*, or *jāti*, or compound words, provided they are words denoting qualities and capable of being used as adjectives qualifying substantives as the word शुक्ल is, not as the word रूप, which though it expresses a quality, cannot be used as an adjective." (*Guide to Paṇini*). Thus from पटु 'dexterous', we have पट्वी or पटुः (without a feminine affix); so मृदुः or मृद्वी 'soft'. Why do we say 'ending in a short उ'? Observe शुचिरिव ब्राह्मणी 'this Brahmana lady is pure'. Why do we say "expressive of a quality?" Observe आलुः 'a mouse' (both masculine and feminine).

Vart :—After the word वसु when expressive of a quality, the affix ङीष् is employed in the feminine; in order to make the first syllable acutely ac-

cented. As, बस्त्री ॥ बहु is formed by ड (Vp I. 10) and is ādyudātta because the ड is निम् ॥

Vart.—Prohibition must be stated after the word बह्, and words though ending in short ड, have conjunct consonant as penultimate. As बहुरिबं ब्राह्मणी 'a Brahmanī who chooses her own husband'. Similarly पाण्डु is both gender, as ण्ड् is a conjunct consonant. As पाण्डुरिबं ब्राह्मणी ॥

The word Guṇa गुणः 'quality' has been thus defined :—

सत्वे निविशतेपेति पृथग् आतिषु इत्यथे ।

भाषेयभाकियाञ्च सोऽसत्त्वमकृतिर्गुणः ॥

बह्नादिभ्यश्च ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ बह्नु-आदिभ्यः, च, (स्त्रियां वा-ङीष्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बह् इत्येवमादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यः स्त्रियां वा ङीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

45. And the affix ङीष् is optionally employed in the feminine after the words बह् and the rest.

As बह् or बह्वी ॥ The following are the words belonging to the Bahvādi class —

1 बह्, 2 पद्मति, 3 अञ्चति, 4 अद्भुति, 5 अंहति, 6 शक्ति, (शक्ति), 7 शक्तिः शब्द, 8 शारि, 9 वारि, 10 राति 11 राधि, 12 शाधि, 13 अहि, 14 कवि, 15 बहि, 16 मुनि, 17 इतः प्राप्यंगात् । 18 कृषिकारकृत्तिः । 19 सर्वतोऽन्तिन्नर्यादित्येके । 20 चण्ड, 21 अण्ड, 22 कृपण, 23 कमल, 24 विकट, 25 विद्याल, 26 विद्यादूट, 27 भद्रज, 28 भ्रज, 29 चन्द्र-भागान्नद्यान् (चन्द्रभागा नद्यान्) 30 कल्याण, 31 उदार, 32 पुराण, 33 अहन्, 34 क्रोर, 35 मत्स्य, 36 खुर, 37 गिर्या, 38 बाल, 39 राक्ष, 40 गुर ॥ आकृतिगणोऽयम् ॥ तेन । 43 मग, 44 गल, 45 एग इत्यादि ॥

The affix ङीष् also comes optionally after words ending in short इ being the names of the limbs of animals ; as, धमनिः or धमनी ॥ So also after the vowel इ of a kṛit affix, not क्तिन् (III. 3. 94), as राधि or राधी ॥ Some say that the feminine affix ङीष् may come after any word ending in इ, if it has not the force of the affix क्तिन् ॥ The word बह् is a guṇa-word and would have *optionally* taken ङीष् even by the last sūtra, its specification here is for the subsequent sūtra, by which it *necessarily* takes ङीष् in the Chhandas. It is an Ākritigūṇa

नित्यं छन्दसि ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ नित्यं, छन्दसि, (बह्नादिभ्यः स्त्रियां ङीष्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बह्नादिभ्यः छन्दसि विषये नित्यं स्त्रियां ङीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

46. The affix ङीष् is always employed in the Vedic literature, in forming the feminine of the words बह् and the rest.

Thus बह्वीषु हिवा प्रपिवन् ॥ Here बह्वी is the name of a herb.

The word नित्य 'always' is used in the aphorism, more for the sake of the subsequent sūtra, which it governs than for this sūtra. For the word

'optionally' does not govern this, and the aphorism even without the word 'nitya' ? would have been a necessary rule and not optional : for आरम्भसामर्थ्यादेव नित्योक्तिः सिद्धः, योगारम्भमिन्त्य योजनः ॥

भुवश्च ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ भुवः, च, (छन्दसि नित्यं स्त्रियां ङीष्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये स्त्रियां भुवो नित्ये ङीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

47. The affix ङीष् is always employed in the Chhandas in forming the feminine, after the word भु ॥

Thus विन्धी, प्रन्धी, सुन्धी, हम्धी ॥

But why not so in the case of स्वयम्भूः ? Because it ends in long ऊ, while विन्धी &c. are feminine of विम्भु &c. ending in short उ ॥ In fact the word उक्तः "after a word ending in short उ" of Sūtra IV. 1. 44 governs this also. The word भुवः is the ablative case of भु irregularly formed by the substitution of ववद्; this form being confined to sūtras only.

पुंयोगादाख्यायाम् ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुंयोगात्-आख्यायां, (स्त्रियां ङीष्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पुंयोगाद्देशतो र्वत्पातिपदिकं स्त्रियां वर्त्तते पुंस आख्यभूतं तस्मान् ङीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ गोपालकाशीनां प्रतिषेधः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सूर्यादेवतायां चाद् वक्तव्यः ॥

48. The feminine affix ङीष् comes after a word when it expresses the name of a wife in relation to her husband.

Relation (yoga) with a male (punsā) is called पुंयोग ॥ Thus the wife of गणक 'an astrologer' is called गणकी, so also महामात्री 'the wife of a chief minister', प्रची 'the wife of a chief'; प्रचरी &c. Thus the word गणक means an astrologer, a calculator or a mathematician; and the wife of such a person will be expressed by the word गणकी ॥ But if a woman is herself an astrologer &c, she will be called गणका (by दाप्) &c. Therefore when matrimonial relation is not denoted, this sūtra will not apply.

Why do we say 'in relation to a husband'? Observe देवदत्ता यज्ञदत्ता 'two women of the names of Devadattā, and Yajñadattā, not wives of Devadatta and Yajñadatta.'

Why do we say "आख्या or a name"? The word formed will be the name of a woman whose husband is possessed of the quality denoted by the word, and not that the woman possesses that quality. In the case of a woman, therefore, the word is merely a Name or a Designation, and has no reference to the etymological meaning of the word. Moreover, the omission of the word आख्यायाम् would have made the sūtra ambiguous, for the phrase पुं योगाद् also means 'an effect produced by union with a man' such as pregnancy. And words परिसृष्टा and प्रजाता would have required ई and not आ ॥

Vart.:—Prohibition must be stated in the case of words like गोपालिका and the rest. Thus गोपालिका 'the wife of a cow-herd'.

Vart.:—The affix चाप् comes after सूर्य in denoting the wife of Sūrya, when she is a celestial being. As सूर्या 'the celestial wife of the god Sūrya', while सूरि will denote a human wife of Sūrya, such as, Kunti &c. The affix चाप् makes the word acutely accented on the final : for the word सूर्य has acute on the initial, and had ङीष् been only prohibited and no specific affix ordained, then दाप् would have applied, and it would have left the accent unchanged. Hence a distinct affix चाप् is ordained.

इन्द्रवरुणभवशर्वरुद्रमृडहिमारण्ययव यवनमातुलाचार्याणामानुक् ॥४९॥ पदानि ॥
इन्द्र-वरुण-भव-शर्व-रुद्र-मृड-हिम-अरण्य-यव-यवन-मातुल-आचार्याणाम्, आनुक्,
(स्त्रियां ङीष्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इन्द्रादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यः स्त्रियां ङीष् प्रत्ययो भवति आनुक् चागमः ॥

वास्तिकम् ॥ हिमारण्ययोर्महत्वे ॥ वास्तिकम् ॥ यवारीषे ॥

वा० ॥ ययनाह्नित्याम् ॥ वा० ॥ उपाध्यायमातुलाभ्यां वा ॥

वा० ॥ आचार्याणस्त्वेच ॥ वा० ॥ अयंसन्निभ्याभ्यां वा ॥

वा० ॥ मुद्रलाच्छन्सि लिच ॥

49. The augment आनुक् is added to the Proper Nouns इन्द्र, वरुण, भव, शर्व, रुद्र, and मृड, and to the words हिम 'snow', अरण्य 'a forest', यव 'barley', यवन 'a Yavana', मातुल 'a maternal uncle', and आचार्य 'a preceptor', before the feminine affix ङीष् ॥

The present sūtra teaches two things, the addition of the augment आनुक् (आन्) and secondly the feminine affix ङीष् ॥ Out of the above words, in case of those about which matrimonial relation is desired to be expressed, i. e. the Proper Nouns up to मृड, the present sūtra teaches only the addition of the augment आनुक्, for in their case, the affix ङीष् would follow by force of the preceding Sūtra. In the case of the remaining words, it teaches both these things.

Thus इन्द्राणी 'the wife of Indra', वरुणानी 'the wife of Varuṇa', भवानी 'the wife of Bhava', सार्याणी 'the wife of Sarva', रुद्राणी 'the wife of Rudra', मृडानि 'the wife of Mṛḍa'.

Vart.:—Of the words हिम and अरण्य, there is the augment आनुक् in the sense of greatness. Thus हिमानी 'a glacier, much snow', अरण्यानी 'a great forest'. Otherwise these words are always Neuter and never take feminine.

Vart.:—After the word यव 'barley' the feminine affix and the augment are added in the sense of fault. The fault consists in its imitating barley

while not being a barley. In fact the word denotes a new and inferior sort of grain. Thus यवानी "a kind of grain, oat".

Vart :—After the word यवन, the affix and the augment are added in the sense of handwriting. Thus यवनानी 'the written character of the Yavanas'.

Vart :—Of the words मातुल 'a maternal uncle', and उपाध्याय 'a preceptor', when the feminine affix comes to express the wife thereof, the augment आनुक् is optional. Thus मतुलानी or मातुली 'the wife of a maternal uncle' उपाध्यायानी or उपाध्यायी 'the wife of a preceptor'.

Vart :—And there is not the change to the lingual ण् of the dental ण् of the augment आनुक् (VIII. 4. 2) after the word आचार्य ॥ Thus आचार्यानी or आचार्या 'the wife of a preceptor'.

Vart :—After the words अर्य and क्षत्रिय this rule applies optionally : when the matrimonial relation is not intended but the word retains its own sense. Thus अर्याणी or अर्या 'the female of the Arya or Vaishya class', क्षत्रियाणी or क्षत्रिया 'a female of the Kshatriya class'. When matrimonial relation is to be expressed, then only ङीष् is added. As अर्या 'the wife of a Vaishya', क्षत्रिया 'the wife of a Kshatriya'.

Vart :—In the Chhandas, the affix ङीष् with the augment आनुक् is added to the word मुक्ल; and the affix is treated as if it had an indicatory ह् ॥ The force of the indicatory ह् is to make the vowel preceding the affix, take the acute accent (VI. 1. 193 लिति). Thus रयिरहून् मुक्लानी गविष्टौ ॥ (Rig Veda X. 102. 2).

क्रीतात्करणपूर्वात् ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ क्रीतात्, करण-पूर्वात्, (स्त्रियां ङीष्) ॥
वृत्ति ॥ क्रीतशब्दान्तात् प्रातिपदिकात् करणपूर्वात् स्त्रियां ङीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

50 The affix ङीष् is employed in the feminine after a compound word ending in क्रीत, the first member of the compound being the name of the means wherewith the thing is bought.

The word करणपूर्वम् means that compound in which the करण or 'means' is the first member. Thus वस्त्रक्रीती 'a female bought in exchange for cloth'; so also वसनक्रीती 'a female bought in exchange for dress'.

Why do we say "when the first member of the compound is the name of the means"? Observe सुक्रीता 'well purchased', दुष्क्रीता 'ill-purchased'. But why is not the affix ङीष् employed in धनक्रीता in the following verse :—
सा हितस्य धनक्रीता माणेभ्योपि गरीयसी 'she purchased in exchange of riches is more dear to him than life'. Here the word क्रीत has first taken the affix टाप् form-

ing क्रीता and then this feminine word is compounded with धन ॥ The general rule is गतिकारकोपपदानां कृद्धिः सहसमासवचनं प्राक् मुबुत्पने: "Gati, Kārakas and Upapadas are compounded with bases that end with Kṛit-affixes, before a case termination or a feminine affix has been added to the latter". The word धनक्रीता is an exception, founded on the diversity allowed by कर्तृकरणे कृता बहुलम् (II. 1. 32).

कादल्पाख्यायाम् ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ काद्, अल्पाख्यायाम्, (करणपूर्वाद् डीष् खियां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ करणपूर्वात्प्रातिपदिकान् कान्तदल्पाख्यायाम् डीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

51. The affix डीष् is employed after a compound Nominal-stem in which a name denoting the means wherewith, is the first member, and the second member is a word formed by the Participle क्, when the sense is that of 'a small quantity'.

The word करण पूर्वात् 'preceded by a noun denoting the means where with', of the last sūtra governs this also. The participle in क्, must be preceded by a noun in the instrumental case, and the sense conveyed by क्, to the action should give the sense of 'little', in connection therewith. The अल्पाख्या-याच् of the sūtra qualifies the whole word. Thus अन्नविलिप्तिं यो: 'a sky covered slightly with clouds', सुपविलिप्तिं पानी 'a dish slightly covered with soup'.

Why do we say when the sense is that of 'little'? Observe चन्दनानुलिप्ता ब्राह्मणी "a Brāhmanī lady covered with sandal essence?"

यदुग्रीहेश्चान्तोदात्तात् ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ यदुग्रीहेः, च, अन्त-उदात्तात्, (काद् खियां डीष्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यदुग्रीह्योऽन्तोदात्तस्तस्मान् खियां डीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अन्तोदात्ताज्ज्ञातप्रतिषेधः ॥ वा० ॥ पाणिगृहीत्यादीनामर्थं विशेषे ॥

वा० ॥ अबहुनश्चसुकालं सुखादिपूर्वादिनि वक्तव्यम् ॥

52. The affix डीष् is employed in the feminine after that Bahuvrīhi compound, which ending with a word formed by the affix क्, has an acute accent on the last syllable.

The word कान् of the last aphorism governs this also. This sūtra applies to those Bahuvrīhi compounds in which the first member is a *svāṅga* word. But if the antecedent member is not a *svāṅga* word, then the application of the rule is optional. As शंसिन्नी 'having a rent on the temporal bone', ऊरुशिन्नी 'having a rent on the thigh'. गलकोकृणी (गलमुक्कृतमस्या), केचलूनी ॥ By II. 2. 36 Vārt जातिकालसुखादिभ्यः परवचनम्, the Nishṭhā stands in the second place, otherwise by II. 2. 36 it ought to have formed the first member of the

compound. The words डीष् &c. are jāti words, and by VI. 2. 170, the acute is on the final.

Why do we say "after a Bahuvrīhi compound?" Observe पादपतिता which is an Ablative Tatpurusha compound (II. 2. 38). The compounding is by II. 1. 32, and it has acute on the final by VI. 2. 144.

Vart.—Prohibition must be stated in the case of the participle जाता 'born', which is also acutely accented on the final. Thus वृत्तजाता 'a female who has cut her teeth'; स्तनजाता 'a female whose breast has been developed'. See II. 2. 36 *Vart.*

Vart.—In the case of words पाणिगृहीती &c, the affix is employed in certain senses only. Thus पाणिगृहीती 'a wife'; (अभिशासिकं यस्याः पाणिगृह्यते); but पाणिगृहीता 'a woman whose hands have been taken, but not before the sacred fire, a concubine &c.'

Vart.—Exception must be stated in the case of compounds, the antecedent member of which is any one of the following words:—बहु, नम, लु, words denoting time, सुख &c. Thus बहुकृता, अकृता, सुकृता, मासजाता, संवत्सरजाता, सुखजाता or सुखजाता &c.

Bahuvrīhi compounds get acute accent on the final syllable when they fall under the rules VI. 2. 170 and the following.

अस्वाङ्ग पूर्वपदाद्वा ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अ-स्वाङ्ग-पूर्वपदात्, वा, (अन्तोदात्तात् कात् बहुव्रीहेः स्त्रियां डीष्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अस्वाङ्ग पूर्वपदादन्तोदात्तात् कान्ताद् बहुव्रीहेः स्त्रियां वा डीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ बहुलं संज्ञाछन्दसोरिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

53. The affix डीष् is optionally employed in the feminine after a Bahuvrīhi compound ending in क्त, having acute accent on the final, the antecedent word not being a word denoting a part of the body.

The words अन्तोदात्तात् and कान्तात् govern this sūtra. This aphorism lays down an option, where by the last aphorism, it would have been compulsory. Thus चार्ङ्गजम्, is a word having acute accent on the final (VI. 2. 170), but as the first portion of this Bahuvrīhi is not a *Svāṅga* word, but a *jāti* word, its feminine will be चार्ङ्गजम्ही or चार्ङ्गजम्हा ॥ So also पलाण्डुभक्षिती or पलाण्डुभक्षिता and सुयपीती or सुयपीता ॥

Why do we say 'when the first member of the compound is not a *svāṅga* word'? Observe संसमिन्नी, ऊरुमिन्नी which admit of only one form.

If the final is not acutely accented, the rule will not apply. As वल्लच्छन्ना and वसनच्छन्ना which are not acutely accented on the final (See VI.

2. 170), because the first member is a word denoting dress or **आच्छादन**, which is especially excepted from the scope of rule VI. 2. 170.

Vart:—Diversely in the Chhandas and in Names. As **प्रवृद्धविद्वती** or **प्रवृद्धविद्वता** ॥

स्वाङ्गाधोपसर्जनादसंयोगोपधात् ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वाङ्गात्, च, उपसर्जनात्, असंयोग-उपधात्, (वा स्त्रियां ङीष्)

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वाङ्गयुपसर्जनमसंयोगोपधं तदन्तात्पातिपादिकात् स्त्रियां ङीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ भंगगात्रकण्ठेभ्य इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

54. And the feminine affix **ङीष्** comes optionally after what ends with the name of a part of the body, when the word is a subordinate member in a compound, and has not a conjunct for its penultimate letter (i. e. the final **अ** is not preceded by a double consonant).

The *Anuvṛitti* of the words **बह्व्रीहः, कान्तादन्तोवासात्** does not extend to this aphorism. But the *anuvṛitti* of the word **वा** 'optionally' does extend to this Sūtra. Thus **चन्द्रमुखी** or **चन्द्रमुखा, अतिकेरी** or **अतिकेरा ॥** The word **अतिकेरा** is a Tatpurusha compound meaning **अतिक्रान्ता केरात्**, and **केरा** is upasarjana by I. 2. 44.

Why do we say "what ends with the name of a part of the body"? Observe **बहुयवा** 'having much barley'. Why do we say "subordinate in a compound"? Witness **अशिखा** "without crest" (where the **शिखा** is not subordinate or epithetical). Why do we say "not having a conjunct for its penultimate letter"? Witness **सुगुल्का, सुधाभा ॥**

Vart:—This rule applies to a compound ending with the word **अङ्ग, गात्र** and **कण्ठ**, though in all these, the penultimate is a double consonant. Thus **सुवृद्धी** or **सुवृद्धा; सुगात्री** or **सुगात्रा, स्निग्धकण्ठी** or **स्निग्धकण्ठा ॥**

The word **स्वाङ्ग** has a technical meaning as given in the following verse:—

अद्वये मूर्तिमत्स्वाङ्गं प्रापित्यमविकारजनम् ।

अतस्तथैव तद्वद्वत् चेत् तेन चेत् तत्तयायुतम् ॥

A word denoting a thing which not being a fluid, is capable of being perceived by the senses because of its having a form, is **svāṅga**; it must exist in a living being, but not produced by a change from the natural state; or though found elsewhere actually, had previously been known as existing in only a living being, or is found to have actually the same relation to the being it is in, as a similar thing has to a living being.

नासिकोदरौष्ठजङ्घादन्तकर्णशृङ्गाश्च ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ नासिका-उदर-ओष्ठ-
जङ्घा-दन्त-कर्ण-शृङ्गात्, च, (स्वांगात् स्त्रियां वा डीप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नासिकाद्यन्ताद्यातिपदिकात् स्त्रियां वा डीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ पुच्छाद्येति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वार्तिकम् ॥ कबरमणिविषघरेभ्योभित्थम् ॥

वा० ॥ उपमानात्पक्षाच्च पुच्छाच्च ॥

55. And the feminine डीप् comes optionally after compounds ending with नासिका 'a nose,' उदर 'belly,' ओष्ठ 'lip' जङ्घा 'leg', दन्त 'a tooth', कर्ण 'ear', and शृङ्ग 'horn'.

This is an exception to the last and the succeeding sūtra. Some of the words above given are either such which have a conjunct penultimate letter, and thus beyond the scope of IV. 1. 54; or they are polysyllabic words and thus covered by IV. 1. 56. Though this rule is an exception to 54 and 56; yet it is qualified by IV. 1. 57. Thus तुङ्गनासिका or तुङ्गनासिकी, तिलोदरी or तिलोदर, विम्बोष्ठी or विम्बोष्ठा, शीघ्रजंघी or शीघ्रजंघा, समदन्ती or समदन्ता, चारुकर्णी or चारुकर्णा, तीक्ष्णशृङ्गी or तीक्ष्णशृङ्गा ॥

Vart :—So also after the word पुच्छ 'tail'. As कल्याणपुच्छा or कल्याणपुच्छी ॥

Vart :—The affix *nish* comes necessarily and not optionally after compounds of पुच्छ with कबर, मणि, विष and घर ॥ As, कबरपुच्छी 'a peahen मणिपुच्छी, विषपुच्छी, 'a scorpion' and घरपुच्छी ॥

Vart :—So also the feminine affix *nish* is necessarily employed after the words दक्ष and पुच्छ when used as a simile or as objects of comparison. As दक्षकपक्षी सेना, दक्षपुच्छी शाला ॥

न क्रोडादियङ्गचः ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, क्रोड-आदि-यहु-अचः, (स्त्रियां डीप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रोडाद्यन्ताद् बहुवचन्ताच्च प्रातिपदिकात् स्त्रियां डीप् प्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

56. The feminine affix डीप् does not come after a Nominal-stem which denoting a part of the body, belongs to the class क्रोडा 'the flank &c, of a horse', nor when the word is a stem of more than two syllables.

The class क्रोड &c. is ākriti-gaṇa, that is a class of words constituted by usage. The following are some of the examples:—As कल्याणक्रोडा, कल्याणक्षुर, कल्याणोष्ठा, कल्याणशाला, कल्याणशफा, कल्याणशुभा, कल्याणपाणा ॥ So also सुभगा, सुगला, &c. Of the case where the word is polysyllabic, the examples are सुजयना, पृथुजयना, महाललादा, ॥ The word क्रोडा is feminine itself, and in the Bahuvrīhi the feminine sign of the first member is elided by pungvad-bhāva, and क्रोडा is shortened to क्रोड because it is an upasarjana (I. 2. 48).

सह नञ् विद्यमानपूर्वाच्च ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सह-नञ्-विद्यमान-पूर्वात्, च, (स्त्रियां डीप् न) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सह नञ् विद्यमानइत्येवं पूर्वान् प्रातिपदिकान् स्त्रियां डीप् प्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

57. The affix डीप् does not come in the feminine after a Nominal-stem denoting a part of the body, when the word is subordinate in a compound, preceded by the word सह 'with', नञ् 'not', or विद्यमान 'having'.

Thus सकेषा, अकेषा विद्यमानकेषा ॥ So also सनासिका अनासिका or विद्यमाननासिका ॥ The last example shows, that the present rule governs also IV. 1. 55 ante: as well as IV. 1. 54

नक्षमुखात्संज्ञायाम् ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ नक्ष-मुखात्, संज्ञायां, (स्त्रियां डीप् न) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ नक्षमुखान्ताप्रातिपदिकत्संज्ञायां स्त्रियां विषये डीप् प्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

58. The feminine affix डीप् is not employed after नक्ष, and मुख, when (the word at the end of which they stand) is a Name.

Thus शूर्प + नखा, = शूर्पणखा, Śārpaṇakhā the sister of Rāvaṇa. The न् is changed into ण् by VIII. 4. 3 (पूर्वपदात् संज्ञायामगः) ॥ So also वज्रणखा, गौरमुखा, कालमुखा &c. Why do we say 'when denoting a Name'? Witness ताम्रमुखी कन्या 'a copper-faced damsel', or चन्द्रमुखी 'moon-faced'

दीर्घजिह्वी च छन्दसि ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ दीर्घजिह्वी, च, छन्दसि ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ दीर्घजिह्वी इति छन्दसिविषये निपात्यते ॥

59. The form दीर्घजिह्वी 'long-tongued' is irregularly formed in the Chhandas.

The word दीर्घजिह्वी is the feminine of दीर्घजिह्व but as the latter has a conjunct consonant for its penultimate, the feminine affix डीप् would not have applied to it by IV. 1. 54. The present aphorism enjoins डीप् ॥ Thus दीर्घजिह्वी in the sentence दीर्घजिह्वी वै देवानां इष्यमलेह ।

The word च 'and' in the aphorism is used in order to draw in the word संज्ञा from the last, so that the word *dirgha-jihvi* is always a Name. Moreover by using the feminine form *dirgha-jihvi* in the sūtra, it is indicated that the application of डीप् is necessary and not optional, as was the case in the last sūtras.

दिक्पूर्वपदान् डीप् ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ दिक्-पूर्वपदात्, डीप्, (स्त्रियां) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ दिक् पूर्वपदाप्रातिपदिकान् डीप्, प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

60. The feminine affix डीप् comes after a Nominal stem which is preceded by a word signifying direction. -

This aphorism over-rules all the rules and prohibitions contained in sūtras 54 to 58. Wherever by those rules there would have been डीप्, the present enjoins डीप् instead. Though the form will be the same, the difference will be in the accent ; the affix डीप् being anudātta (III. i. 4). Thus ग्राहमुखी or ग्राहमुखा, ग्राहनासिकी or ग्राहनासिका, But not so in ग्राहगुल्फा ; or ग्राहकोडा or ग्राहजपना because these words do not take डीप् (by IV. I. 56), therefore they never give occasion to the application of डीप् ॥ The sūtra ought to be read as if it contained two rules (1) the affix डीप् comes after a compound the first member of which is a word denoting direction and the second is a svānga word or is the word नासिका &c. the penultimate not being a conjunct consonant, (2) but डीप् is not added to Compounds ending in कोडा &c. or in a word of more than two syllables. In other words the sūtra may be translated "डीप् is the substitute of डीप् when the first member is a word denoting direction". Therefore the affix डीप् will come only there, where else the affix डीप् would have come and not otherwise. This is the reason why the anuvṛitti of डीप् is taken in the next sūtra (IV. I. 61) and not that of डीप् ॥

वाहः ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ वाहः, (डीप् स्त्रियां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वाहन्तात्प्रातिपदिकात् स्त्रियां डीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

61. The feminine affix डीप् comes after a Nominal-stem ending with the word वाह ॥

The anuvṛitti of डीप् is to be taken in this aphorism and not that of डीप्, though the latter was nearer. The word वाह is formed from the root वाह् with the affix ल्व (III. 2. 64). The word वाह is never found alone, but as ends of compounds, hence we apply the rule of *tadanta*, and have translated it by saying a "word ending in vāh." Thus दिव्यौही 'sustaining the demon.' This form is thus evolved :—दिव्य + वाह् + डीप् = दिव्य + ऊह् + आह् + डीप् (VI. 4. 132 वाह ऊह्, Uṭh is the samprasārana of vāh, when this is a *bha*) = दिव्य + ऊह् + डीप् (VI. 1. 108) संप्रसारणाच्च 'after a samprasārana if a vowel follow, the form of the prior is the single substitute', = दिव्यौही (VI. I. 89 एत्येधृद्भृद्सु 'vṛiddhi is the single substitute when *eti*, *edhati* or *ūth* follow'). Similarly प्रवौही 'a young heifer training for the plough.'

सख्यशिर्ष्वीति भाषायाम् ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सखी-अशिर्ष्वी, इति, भाषायां ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सखी अशिर्ष्वी इत्येतौशब्दौ डीप्न्तो भाषायां निपात्येते ॥

62. The forms सखी and अशिर्ष्वी are irregular forms ending in डीप् found in secular (or vernacular as opposed to (Vedic) Sanskrit.

Thus सखीयं मे ब्राह्मणी, and नास्त्याः शिवास्तीति = अशिर्ष्वी ॥ Why do we say

in vernacular Sanskrit? Observe सखा सन्नपरीभब and अक्षिपुमिव नामवं सिधुपनिन-
न्यते ॥

Sometimes we find these forms in the Vedas also, though rarely, as
भाधेनवो धुनयन्तामक्षिभी ॥ सखा सन्नपरी भब ॥

जातेरक्षी विषयादयोपधात् ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ जातेः, अक्षीविषयात्, अयोप-
धात्, (स्त्रियां डीष्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जातिवाचि यत्प्रातिपदिकं नच स्त्रियामेव नियतमस्ती विषयमयकारोपधंच तस्मात् स्त्रियां डीष्
प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ योपधप्रतिषेधे ह्य गवय मुकय मत्स्यमनुष्याणाम् प्रतिषेधः ॥

63. The feminine affix डीष् comes after a word denoting a jāti or species when it does not express in its original meaning a feminine, and which moreover has not the letter ष् for its penultimate.

The word जाति was defined under Sūtra I. 2. 52. Thus कुक्कुटी 'a hen'; सूकरी 'a she-hog', ब्राह्मणी 'Brāhmani'; वृषली 'a woman of the Sūdra caste', नादायनी 'a woman of Nadayana class', चारायणी 'a Chārāyaṇī', कटी 'a woman of Brahmins who read the Kāṭha', बह्वृषी 'a woman of the class of Brahmins who read the Rīg Veda'.

Why do we say "expressive of a jāti"? Observe मुण्डा 'shaven' (where the word expresses not a jāti but a quality). Why do we say "not invariably feminine"? Witness मक्षिका 'a fly' (supposed to breed without a male). Why do we say "not having the letter ष् for its penultimate?" Witness क्षत्रिया 'a female of the Kshatriya class'.

Vārt.—In excluding words that have the letter ष् as penultimate, there is not involved the exclusion of the following words which have a penultimate ष् viz, गवय 'the Bos Gaveans', हय 'horse', मुकय 'a sort of animal', मत्स्य 'a fish', and मनुष्य 'a man'. Thus गवयी, हयी, मनुषी, (VI. 4. 150 हलस्तद्धितस्य 'there is elision of the ष् of a taddhita affix coming after a consonant when long ई follows') मत्सी ॥ The ष् of matsya is elided by the vārtika 'मत्स्यस्य ङ्यात्' ॥ See also VI. 4. 149. All these words are also included in the class गौरदि (IV. 1. 41.) and would have taken डीष् independently of this vārtika.

Another definition of jāti is :—

प्रावर्भावनिनाशाभ्यां सस्वस्य युगपद्विशुणेः ।

असर्वलिङ्गां बहुव्रीं तां जातौ कवयो विवुः ॥ (See translation under I. 2. 52)

पाककर्णपर्णपुष्पफलमूलवालोत्तरपदाद्य ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि पाक-कर्ण-पर्ण-पुष्प-
फल-मूल-वाल-उत्तरपदात्, च (स्त्रियां डीष्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पाकादि उत्तरपदाज्जातिवाचिनः प्रातिपदिकात् स्त्रियां डीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ पुष्पफलमूलोत्तरप-
दान् नु यतोनेष्यते तदजादिषु पठ्यते ॥ यथा सध्याक्काण्डमान्तश्चतुर्केभ्यः पुष्पात् ॥

संभस्त्राजिनशण पिण्डेभ्यः कलात् ॥ मूलान्नमः ॥

64. And the feminine affix डीर् comes after the Nominal-stem expressive of jāti, followed by the following, पाक 'cooked', कर्ण 'ear', पर्ण 'leaf', पुष्प 'flower', फल 'fruit', मूल 'root', and बाल 'youth'.

Here the affix applies to words which in their original sense denoted females and therefore were not provided by the last sūtra. Thus भोरनपाकी, शंककुर्णी, घालपर्णी, शंखपुष्पी, हासीफली इर्ममूली, and गोबाली ॥

When, however the affix डीर् is not intended to be applied to compounds ending with फल, पुष्प, and मूल, then those compounds will fall under Ajādi class (IV. 1. 4) ; such as संफला, मल्लफला, सल्लुष्पा, ममूला &c.

इतो मनुष्यजातेः ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ इतः, मनुष्य-जातेः, (स्त्रियां डीर्)

वृत्तिः ॥ इकारान्ताध्यातिपदिकान्मनुष्यजातिवाचिनः स्त्रियां डीर् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ इम उपसंख्यानमजात्यर्थम् ॥

65. The feminine affix डीर् comes after a Nominal-stem ending in short इ denoting classes or races of men.

Thus अवन्ती 'women of Avanti', कुन्ती 'women of Kunti', दाक्षी 'Dākshī'. Thur अवन्ति + व्यङ् (IV. 1. 171) भावन्त्यः 'men of Avanti'. In the feminine this affix by IV. 1. 176 is elided. प्लाक्षी "the female descendants of Plaksha". Why do we say "ending in short इ" ? Witness विद् 'Vaishya', दरद् 'Darat'. Why do we say "of men" ? Witness तिमितिः 'partridge'. Though the anuvṛitti of the word जाति could have been read into this aphorism from IV. 1, 63, its repetition here indicates that डीर् is to be applied even when the penultimate letter is इ. Thus भोरनयी ॥

Vart:—This rule applies to words ending in the taddhita affix इङ् (IV. 2. 80) though they do not denote a jāti. Thus सौतंगमी, मौनचिनी ॥ The affix इङ् here referred to is the quadruply significant affix taught in IV. 2. 80 and ordained to come after सुतंगम् &c, and does not denote a jāti.

ऊङुतः ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऊङ्, उतः, (मनुष्यजातेः स्त्रियां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उकारान्ताध्यातिपदिकान्मनुष्यजातिवाचिनः प्रातिपदिकान् स्त्रियामूङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अप्राणिजातेभ्यारङ्गवासीनामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

66. After a Nominal-stem ending in short उ, not having the letter य as its penultimate letter, and being expressive of races of men, the affix in the feminine is ऊङ्.

The anuvṛitti of the words मनुष्यजाति and अयोपधात् should be read into the sūtra to complete it. Thus कूरुः 'a female of the country of the Kurus' ब्रह्मबन्धूः "a Brahmani of the class of the fallen Brahmins sq called", जीवबन्धूः "a woman of the Jivabandhu class",

Thus कृ + ण्व-कौरवः IV. 1. 172, and this affix is elided by IV. 1. 176 in the feminine.

The indicatory letter कृ in कह is to distinguish this affix in Sûtras like नोद धात्वोः (VI. 1. 175), for had the affix been enunciated merely as कृ, then the Sûtra VI. 1. 175 would have run as नो धात्वोः and the sense would have been ambiguous, for we could not have known what affix was particularly meant there.

The long कृ is taught to debar the affix कप्, for a short कृ would have also given the form ककृ (कृ + क = ककृ) ॥ The long कृ therefore, indicates that the affix कप्, enjoined by V. 4. 154, in Bahuvrhiis, will not apply in the feminine forms ब्रह्मवन्धूः and the like, by the rule of vipratishedha.

Why do we say "not having the letter कृ as its penultimate"? Witness अभ्यर्द्युर्वाङ्मणी 'a woman of the class of Brahmanas versed in the Yajur Veda'.

Vart:—The affix कह. comes under similar conditions after words denoting non-animate jāti, except the words रज्जु &c. Thus बलाहूः 'the bottle-gourd'; कर्कन्धूः 'the jujube tree.' Why do we say "non-animate"? Witness कृकवाकूः 'a kind of lizard.' Why do we say "except the word rajju &c" Witness रज्जुः 'rope'; हनुः 'cheek' &c.

बाहुन्तात्संज्ञायाम् ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ बाहु-अन्तात्, संज्ञायाम्, (स्त्रियां ऊङ्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ बाहुपदान्ता व्यातिपदिकात्संज्ञायां विषये स्त्रियामूङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

67. The feminine affix ऊङ् comes in denoting a Name, after a Nominal-stem ending with the word बाहु ॥

Thus भद्रबाहुः 'Bhadrabâhû'; जालबाहुः &c. Why do we say in "expressing a Name"? Observe वृण्बाहुः 'a woman having rounded hand' which is an attributive word. In other words, when the compound is a name, बाहु takes long ऊ in the feminine.

पङ्गेश्च ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पङ्गोः, च, (स्त्रियां ऊङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पङ्गुपदानात् स्त्रियामूङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ भवतुरस्योकाराकारलोपश्च वक्तव्यः ॥

68. The feminine affix ऊङ् comes after the word पङ्गु 'lame'.

As पङ्गु 'a female lame'.

Vart:—The feminine affix ऊङ् is added to भवतु, and thereby there is elision of the letter उ and of the letter व of the word. As भवतुः 'mother-in-law' This debars the puhyoga ङीप् of IV. 1. 48.

ऊरुत्तरपदादौपम्ये ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऊरु-उत्तरपदात्, औपम्ये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऊरुत्तरपदाव्याप्तिपरिकारौपम्ये गन्धमाने स्त्रियामूढ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

69. The feminine affix ऊरु comes after a stem ending in ऊरु when comparison with something (expressed by the first term) is meant.

Thus कल्लास्तम्भोरुः 'a female with thighs like plantain-stem'. नाम नासोरुः 'a female with thighs like the nose of an elephant'; करभोरुः 'a female with thighs like the ulnar or tapering fleshy side of the hand'.

Why do we say "when expressing an object of comparison"? Witness वृत्तोरुः स्त्री 'a woman with round thighs'. The word कोणुकरोरु 'thigh like the proboscis (कर) of an elephant (कोणु)' is a poetic irregularity in the following विचक्रे च कोणुकरोरुभिः ॥

संहितशफलक्षणवामादेश्च ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ संहित, शफ, लक्षण, वामादेः च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ संहित शफ लक्षण वाम इत्येवमादिः प्रातिपरिकापूर्वकारपदान् स्त्रियामूढ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ संहितसहाभ्यां चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

70 The feminine affix ऊरु comes in the Vedas after the word ऊरु when the words संहित 'accompanied or joined', शफ 'a hoof', लक्षण 'a mark,' and वाम 'handsome' precede it.

This aphorism applies, when no comparison is intended. As संहितोरुः 'a female whose thighs are joined (e. g. from obesity)'. शफोरुः 'whose thighs are put together like the two hoofs on a cow's foot', लक्षणोरुः 'whose thighs are marked', वामोरुः 'with handsome thighs.'

Vārt:—So also with the words संहित and सह. As संहितोरुः and सहोरुः ॥

कद्रुकमण्डल्वोश्छन्दसि ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ कद्रु, कमण्डल्वोः, छन्दसि ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ कद्रुशब्दात्कमण्डलुशब्दाच्च छन्दसि विषये स्त्रियामूढ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ गुग्गुलुमधुजतुपतयालूनामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

71. The feminine affix ऊरु comes in the Vedas after the words कद्रु 'tawny,' and कमण्डलु 'a water pot.'

Thus कद्रुशब्दे सुपर्णी च ॥ मात्मकमण्डलं गुग्गुलु इत्यात् ॥

Why do we say "in the Vedas." Witness कद्रुः and कमण्डलुः ॥

Vārt:—So also after the words गुग्गुलु, मधु, जतु and पतयालुः ॥ Thus गुग्गुलुः,

मधुः, जतुः, and पतयालुः ॥

संज्ञायाम् ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कद्रुकमण्डलुशब्दाभ्यां संज्ञायां विषये स्त्रियामूढ् प्रत्ययो भवति । मण्डल्वोरेव वचनम् ॥

72. The feminine affix ऊरु comes in denoting a Name, after the word कद्रु and कमण्डलु.

This rule applies to other than Vedic forms. Thus कद् : 'a female named Kadrū wife of Kāśyapa', कण्डकः 'Kamaṇḍalū'. Why do we say "in denoting a Name"? Observe कद् : 'the tawny color.' कण्डकः 'a water-gourd.'

शाङ्गरवाद्यो हीन् ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ शाङ्गरवादि, अमः, हीन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शाङ्गरवादिभ्योऽमन्तेभ्यश्च प्रातिपदिकेभ्यः शिवां हीन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

73. The feminine affix हीन् comes after the words शाङ्गरव and the rest, and that which ends with the affix अम् ॥

Thus शाङ्गरवी 'a Sārṅgrava woman', कापटवी 'a Kāpatava woman'. So also after a word formed with the affix अम् (as ordained in S. 86, and 104 &c. of this chapter), as, वेशी 'a female descendant of Bida'. और्वी 'a female descendant of Urva'. This sūtra applies to words expressing jāti or kind. In other words, this aphorism debars the affix हीन् of IV. 1. 63 &c. where it came "after jāti-vāchaka words; but it does not debar that हीन् which is employed in describing the relation of wife, such as, the हीन् of IV. 1. 48.

The difference between हीन् and हीन् consists in accent only, the resultant forms otherwise being the same. The words formed by हीन् will have *udatta* accent on the first syllable अस्त्वादिर्नित्यम् (VI. 1. 197 a word ending with an affix having an indicatory स् or न् has *udatta* accent on the first syllable) : while the word formed by हीन् will have acute accent on the affix. Thus वेशी 'a female descendant of Bida', and वेशी 'the wife of Baida'.

The following is a list of Sārṅgaravādi class words:—

1 शाङ्गरव, 2 कापटव, 3 गौगुलव, 4 ब्राह्मण, 5 वैव, 6 गौतम ॥ These words are formed by the affix अम् the first four being formed by the अम् of (IV. 1. 83) from शङ्गर, कपट, गुग्गुलु and ब्राह्मन्; the word गौतम is formed from गौतम by the अम् of IV. 1. 114. This word is also included in Gaurādi class IV. 1. 41. 7 कामण्डलेव, 8 ब्राह्मकुलेव, 9 आनिषेव, 10 आनिषेय, 11 आणीकेय ॥ These are formed by इक् (IV. 1. 123) except kāmāṇḍaleya which is formed by इम् (IV. 1. 135). 12 वात्स्यायन, 13 मौञ्जायन ॥ These are formed by ऋक् of IV. 1. 101 and IV. 1. 99, and denote castes or Gotra. 14 कैकलेय is also formed by इक् (IV. 1. 123). 15 काश्यप 16 क्षत्र्य are formed by अयङ् (IV. 1. 171). 17 एहि, 18 पर्येहि are formed by इन् added to आ + इन् 'to try', and परि + आ + इन् (U. IV. 117 सर्वं धातुभ्य इन्) 19 आभरथ is formed by अम् (IV. 1. 105). 20 औत्तपान is formed by अम् (IV. 3. 76). 21 अरत, 22 चण्डाल, 23 वण्डः are jāti words. 24 भोगवन्, 25 गौरिवन् ॥ These take हीन् when denoting a Name. These words are formed by the affix नृत्, and are consequently ङित्, and should have taken हीन् (IV. 1. 6). This ordains हीन् ॥

Q. The word भोग is formed by अम् and गौरि is formed by इम् (IV. 1. 95), both are ādyuddatta owing to ण् (VI. 1. 197). When नृत् is added, the accent remains unchanged, for *matup* being णिन् is anudatta (III. 1. 4). There-

fore whether हीप् be added or हीन् to these words, it makes no difference in the accent, for they remain ādyudātta. Where is the necessity of including these two words in this list.

Ans. To this we reply चादिषु नित्यम् इत्वार्यम् ॥ For had these words taken हीप् of IV. 1. 6, then the long ई would have been optionally shortened before the affixes च &c. by VI. 3. 45. But by taking हीन् the shortening is compulsory (VI. 3. 43), and not optional. Because the च in the sūtra उगितच (VI. 3. 45) has the force of the word उगिति, and means the नदी words formed by adding ई to उगित् words, by enunciating the word उगित् are optionally shortened. Therefore IV. 1. 6 where the word उगित् is used is governed by this rule of optional shortening, and not the words formed by हीन् ॥

26 वृ 27 नर. The word वृ would have taken हीप् by IV. 1. 5, and नर would have taken हीप् as it denotes a jāti. These words take vṛiddhi before हीन्, the form being नारी in both cases.

यङश्चाप् ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ यङः, चाप् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यङन्ताप्यातिपदिकान् स्त्रियां चाप् प्रत्ययो भवति । व्यङ्ग्यः प्यङ्ग्य सामान्यमहणमेतत् ॥
वाचिकम् ॥ पाठ यङः ॥

74. The feminine affix चाप् comes after a stem which is formed by the affix व्यङ् or प्यङ् ॥

The affix यङ् here denotes and includes both the affixes व्यङ् (as taught in S. 171 of this chapter) and प्यङ् (See 78) as it is the common element of both. Thus आम्बष्ठ्या 'a woman of the race of Ambashṭhya', सौवीर्या 'a woman of the race of Sauvīrya', कौसल्या 'a woman of the race of Kausalya'.

Similarly प्यङ् formed words, as, कारीषगम्या, वाराह्या ; बालाक्या ॥

Vṛti:—The affix चाप् comes in the feminine after a word ending with the affix यङ् when the letter ण् immediately precedes such yañ. As सार्कारक्ष्य 'a female descendant of Sarkarāksha', पौतिमाष्या 'a female descendant of Pūtimāshya', गौकाक्ष्य 'a female descendant of Gokasha'. These words belong to Gargādi class (IV. 1. 105), and by sūtra 16 would have taken हीप् ॥

The ण् of the affix चाप् is for the sake of forming a common term भाप् with डाप् and दाप् ; and the च regulates the accent making the final acute (VI. 1. 163). The word गौकाक्ष्य is included in Krauḍādi list (IV. 1. 80) and takes the augment व्यङ् in the feminine, and hence it would have taken चाप् by force of the present sūtra and need not be included in the Vārtika. There is no Samprasāraṇa of the च when पुच or पति is added to this word (VI. 1. 13), the form being गौकाक्ष्यपुचः and not गौकाक्षीपुचः ॥

आवट्याच्च ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ आवट्यात्, च, (स्त्रियां चाप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आवट्याच्च स्त्रियां चाप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

75. And the feminine affix चाप् comes after the word आवक्ष्य ॥

The word अवक्ष् belongs to Gargādi class (IV. 1. 105) which after taking वप्, would have taken ङीप् (IV. 1. 16). Thus आवक्ष्या 'a female descendant of Avaṭa'. But आवक्ष्यायनी will be the proper form according to the Eastern Grammarians. See aphorism IV. 1. 17.

तद्धिताः ॥७६॥ पदानि ॥ तद्धिताः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अधिकारोऽयम् । आपञ्चमाध्यायपरिसमाप्तेर्यानि कर्म्मणुक्रममप्यामस्तद्धितसंज्ञास्ते वेदितव्याः ॥

76. The Taddhita-affixes are treated of here after.

This is an adhikāra or governing sūtra. Up to the end of the Fifth Book, all the affixes that will be taught, are to be understood to have the name of Taddhita. Thus the affix ति taught in the very next sūtra. As युवतिः The word so formed is called Prātipadika. The word तद्धिताः is in the plural number, and not exhibited in the singular, like the words प्रत्ययः (III. 1. 1) &c; and it, therefore, indicates that it includes also affixes which are not especially taught in this book. Such as पृथिव्य माप्नो ॥ अपादि पश्चाद् दिमच् ॥ As पार्थिव, भूमि, आदि, पश्चिम ॥ See Vārt IV. 3. 23. The word Taddhita is used in Sūtras like कृतद्धितसमासाश्च I. 2. 46.

यूनस्तिः ॥७७॥ पदानि ॥ यूनः, ति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ युवन्पञ्चाध्यायतिपदिकान् क्षियां निः प्रत्ययो भवति । स च तद्धितसंज्ञो भवति ॥

77. The feminine affix ति comes after the Nominal-stem युवन् and this affix gets the name of Taddhita.

As युवतिः 'a young maid'. By IV. 1. 5, ङीप् would have been otherwise employed, the present sūtra debars it. The word युवति ending in इ does not take the affix ङीप् of IV. 1. 65, for the affix ति itself is a feminine-making affix though a Taddhita: or the word युवन् may be regarded as a non-jāti word and hence IV. 1. 65 would not apply.

अणिश्रोतार्ययोर्गुरुपोत्तमयोः प्यङ् गोत्रे ॥७८॥ पदानि ॥ अण् ह्योः अना-
र्वयोः, गुरुपोत्तमयोः, प्यङ्, गोत्रे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोत्रे यावदणिश्रो विहितावनाशौ तदन्तयोः प्रातिपदिकयोर्गुरुपोत्तमयोः क्षियां प्यङ्गो भवति । निर्दिश्यमानस्यादेशा भवन्तीत्यणिश्रोरेव विज्ञायते ॥ उत्तमपञ्चः स्वभावान् विप्रभृतीनामन्यक्षरमाह उत्तमस्य सत्रीपमुपोत्तमं, गुरुः उपोत्तमं यस्य तद्गुरुपोत्तमं प्रातिपदिकम् ॥

78. In Patronymics used in a narrower sense (counting first from the grand-child), which are formed with the affixes अण् and इङ्, the feminine is formed by substituting

य (अव्) for the अ and इ of those affixes and adding the long आ under IV. 1. 74; provided that they do not denote Rishi clans, and have a prosodially long syllable preceding the last syllable,

The wording of this aphorism requires a little analysis. It consists of five words: (1) अणिमो: 'of अव् and इम्,' (2) अनार्ययो: 'of non-rishi' (3) गुरु-पोननयो: 'having a heavy vowel as *upottama* i. e. last but one,' (4) अव् 'the substitute is shyah' (5) गोत्रे 'in denoting gotra.' That is to say, the gotra affixes अव् and इम् are replaced by अव् before the feminine affix चार्, in those words which denoting non-rishi gotras, have a heavy vowel as last but one. The word *uttama* meaning last letter, being formed by the superlative affix *tama*, implies that the word must be of at least three syllables. Therefore, the present sūtra does not apply to forms like वासि &c.

Of the substitute अव् the letter ए and इ are indicatory, the real affix is अ, the letter ए differentiating this affix from अव् and the letter इ affording a common hold for both. In forming the feminine we shall have to add चार् by IV. 1. 74. Thus करीषगन्धि 'having the smell of dung-cake', is the name of a person. In forming a patronymic from this word, we add the affix अव्. Thus करीषगन्धि + अव् (IV.1. 92) Replace this affix by ए and we have कारीषगन्ध्या. कुमुदगन्धि: gives us कौमुदगन्ध्या. Similarly with words taking the affix इम् (as taught in sūtra अतइम् IV. 1. 75): as वाराहि: gives us वाराह्या, so also बालास्या.

Why do we say 'of अव् and इम्'? Witness आर्तेभागा from कृतभाग. Here the word कृतभाग belongs to विसारि gaṇa, and therefore by IV. 1. 104, it would take the affix अव् in forming gotra patronymic: this affix अव् is not replaced by अव्, and the feminine is by long ई (IV. 1. 15); for though, its last vowel but one is heavy, it is a non-rishi gotra word, yet it does not fulfil the other condition of taking the affix अव् or इम्.

Why do we say 'of non-rishi gotras'? Witness वासिष्ठी and वैश्यामिष्ठी. Why do we say 'whose last vowel but one is heavy'? Observe औपगवी and कापरवी. Why do we say 'denoting Gotra'? Witness आहिच्छत्री 'born in Ahichhatra', कान्यकुब्जी 'born in Kanyakubja'.

गोत्रावयवात् ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ गोत्र-अवयवात् (स्त्रियां अव्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अणिमोरित्येव । गोत्रावयवा गोत्राभिमतः कुलाख्याः पुनिकमुनिकमुखरप्रभृतयः, स्ततो गोत्रे विहितयोऽणिमोः स्त्रियां अव्हातेषो भवति ॥

79. After a word denoting a non-principal gotra, अव् is the substitute of अव् and इम्, in the feminine, even though the syllable preceding the final be not prosodially long.

The phrase **अभिप्रोः** of the last sūtra governs this also, not so, however, the word **भगुरूपोत्तमः** ॥ The phrase **गोत्रावयव** means insignificant or non-famous gotras i. e. names of kulas i. e. कुलाख्या, such as families like शुनिक, मुनिक, मुखर which are not famous and are not included in the gotra list. Thus **पौत्रिक्य**, **भौत्रिक्य** and **मौल्य** ॥

The word **अवयव** in the sūtra has various significations, one sense being 'separate from', another being 'part of', and 'individual members' &c. If the last sense be taken, then we can evolve forms like **देवदत्ता दासदत्ता** ॥ These forms may also be explained by taking them as belonging to the **कौटुम्बिक** class of the next aphorism. In short, those who wish to apply this aphorism to 'the immediate descendant', such as 'the son or daughter', and not to a gotra descendant, which means a grandson and down ; can also do so.

In fact the word **गोत्रावयव** is equal to **अवयवगोत्र** or **अप्रधानगोत्र** and is a karmadhāraya samāsa, namely gotras not enumerated in the प्रवराध्यायः ॥ These are, however, technically called कुल ॥

कौटुम्बादिभ्यश्च ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ कौटि-आदिभ्यः, च, (स्त्रियां प्यङ्)

वृत्तिः ॥ कौटि इत्येवमादिभ्यश्च स्त्रियां प्यङ् प्रत्ययो भवति । भगुरूपोत्तमार्थं आत्मन् । अभिप्रमर्त्य ॥

80. The affix **प्यङ्** comes in the feminine after the words **कौटि** and the rest.

This rule applies even where the syllable next to the final is not heavy, and even where the word does not take the affix **अप्** or **इम्** ॥ In fact **प्यङ्** is not a substitute here but an augment. Thus **कौटि** 'a female Krauḍi', **लाटि** 'a female Lāḍi'. The following is the list of Krauḍādi words :—

1 कौटि, 2 लाटि, 3 प्याटि, 4 भाषिण्यति, 5 भाषिण्यति. These are formed by **इङ्** (IV. 1. 95). 6 चोपयति, 7 चेटयति (चेटयति), 8 शेकयति (शेकयति) 9 वेल्पयति (वेल्पयति), These are formed by the affix **अप्** ॥ 10 लोभातकि. This is formed by **इङ्** with the substitute **अकङ्** (IV. 1. 97) added to लुधात् ॥ 11 सुतयुवत्यान् The word **सुत** takes **प्यङ्** when denoting a grown-up maiden as सुत्या; otherwise **सुता** 'a daughter', formed by **टाप्**, or **सूती** by **ङीप्** denoting a jāti. 12 भोज भविषे ॥ This debars **ङीप्** of jāti as भोज्या; otherwise **टाप्** as भोजाः (भोजयति). 13 यौतकि, 14 कौटि, 15 भौरिकी, 16 भौलिकि, 17 घाल्मलि, 18 घाल्मत्यनि, 19 कापिष्ठनि, 20 गौकश्च (गौल्मश्च) ॥ All these except the last are formed by **इङ्**, the last is formed by **इङ्** of Garg-adi class.

देवयज्ञि शौचिवृक्षि सात्यमुग्निं काण्डेविद्धिभ्यो, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥

देवयज्ञि, शौचिवृक्षि, सात्यमुग्नि, काण्डेविद्धिभ्यः, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ देवयज्ञि शौचिवृक्षि सात्यमुग्निं काण्डेविद्धि इत्येतेषामन्यतरस्यांप्यङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

81. The affix **प्यङ्** optionally comes after the words **देवयज्ञि, शौचिवृक्षि, सात्यमुग्नि** and **काण्डेविद्धि** ॥

These words end in the affix इस्, and the word gotra is not understood in the sūtra. In the case of gotra descendants, the substitute shyah would have come by IV. 1. 78. but whereas by that sūtra it would have been compulsory, the present aphorism makes it optional. But if the sūtra be taken to apply to 'immediate descendants' as opposed to gotra descendants, then this is a new rule altogether and not a rider to IV. 1. 87. In the alternative when प्यद् is not added, डीप् will be added by rule IV. 1. 65 ante. Thus देवयस्या or देवयसी, so also शोषिवृक्ष्या or शोषिवृक्षी, सात्यमुग्न्या or सात्यमुभी, काण्डेविद्या or काण्डेविद्धी ॥

समर्थानां प्रथमाद्वा ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ समर्थानां, प्रथमात्, वा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अद्यमप्यधिक्रियते, समर्थानामिति च, प्रथमादिति च वेति च, स्वार्थिकप्रत्ययावधिभायमधिकारः । प्राग्दिशो विभक्तिरिति यावत् । स्वार्थिकेषु ह्यस्योपयोगो नास्ति, विकल्पोऽपि तत्त्वानवस्थितः, के चिन्निवृत्तेः न भवन्ति । लक्षणवाक्यानिः—तस्यापत्यं, तेन रक्तं रागात्, तदभव, इत्येवमादीनि भविष्यन्ति । तेषु सामर्थ्ये सति प्रथमनिर्दिष्टादेव विकल्पेन प्रत्ययो भवतीति वेदितव्यम् ॥ समर्थानामिति निर्धारणे षष्ठी । समर्थानां मध्ये प्रथमं प्रत्ययप्रकृतित्वेन निर्द्धार्यते ॥

82. The Taddhita affixes, on the alternative of their being employed at all, come after the word that is signified by the first of the words in construction in an aphorism.

All the three words, viz. (1) समर्थानां 'of the words in construction' (2) प्रथमात् 'after the first ; (3) वा 'on the alternative', exert a governing influence on the subsequent aphorisms, up to the aphorisms which leave to the words their own denotation : that is to say, up to the end of the second chapter of the fifth Book ; before the beginning of the sūtra प्राग्दिशो विभक्तिः (V. 3. 1). The present sūtra as a whole, of course, has no applicability to the affixes which leave to the words their own denotation (स्वार्थिक) ; for the latter affixes are in many cases compulsory and not optional, as are the affixes to be taught hereafter in Book Fourth and the first and second chapters of Book Fifth.

These affixes will come after the word, that is signified by the first of the words in construction, in an aphorism. Thus IV. 1. 92 declares तस्यापत्यम् 'his son'. Here the first word is तस्य 'his', therefore, the affixes forming the patronymics will come after the word signified by 'his': i. e. after the word in the genitive case. As 'उपगोरपत्यं=ओपगवः 'the son of Upagu'. Here the affix अन् comes after the word उपगु which is the first word representing 'tasya' in the genitive case in the sentence उपगोरपत्यम् ॥ Similarly in the sūtra तेनरक्तं रागात् (IV. 2. 1) ; here the first word is तेन, therefore, the affix will be added to the word in the instrumental case in a sentence representing the word तेन 'by which' ; as कषायेन रक्तं वस्त्रं=काषायन्, 'Kāshāya is a cloth, coloured

by *Kashdya*. Similarly in sūtra तत्र भवः 'there staying' (IV. 3. 53,) here the first word is तत्र, 'there', in the locative case, therefore the affix will be optionally added to the word in the locative case in a sentence, representing the word तत्र 'there' : as सुनि भवः = सौनि "who stays in Srughna'.

The word समर्पानाद् is the genitive plural of समर्प, and the force of the genitive is that of specification or 'nirdhāraṇa':—i. e. 'among the words in construction, the *first* is specifically pointed out as the *prakṛiti* or base, to which the affix is to be added'. Why do we say "among the words in construction"? Witness कम्बल उपगोत्पत्य देवदत्तस्य 'the blanket of Upagu; the son of Devadatta'. Here the two words उपगोत्पत्य are not in construction, for उपगोः governs कम्बलः, and भवत्य is governed by देवदत्तस्य ॥ Why do we say "after the first"? So that the affix may come after the first word उपगोः in the genitive case, and not after भवत्य which is in the nominative case, Why do we say "in the alternative"? Because the same idea may also be expressed by a sentence; thus we may say उपगोत्पत्य, instead of the Taddhita formed word भोपगवः ॥ The same idea may also be expressed by a compound word (samāsa); as उपगवत्पत्यद् 'the son of Upagu'. In fact, the samāsa rule here is not superseded by Taddhita-rule, as it otherwise would have been by I. 4. 2. because the anuvṛitti of अन्यतरस्याद् is understood here: so that in the alternative when the Taddhita affix is not employed, the samāsa rules will find scope.

This sūtra has been thus rendered by Dr. Bohtlingk: "when henceforth the meaning is specified in which an affix is to be added, then one should know that the rule applies to the first of those words which are associated with one another in sense, and that the affix is optional".

प्राग्दिन्यतोऽण् ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राक्, दीन्यतः अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राग्दीन्यत्संघट्टनाद् यानि च ऊर्ध्वमनुकमिष्यामोऽण्प्रत्ययस्तत्र भवतीति देहितव्यम् ॥

83. The affix अण् should be understood to come after whatever we shall teach hereafter upto the aphorism *tena divyati* &c.

Up to aphorism IV. 4. 2, the affix अण् has a governing influence, except where it is specifically superseded by any particular rule. This aphorism may be looked upon either as an *adhikāra sūtra* or a *paribhāṣā sūtra* or a *vidhi sūtra*. The application of this aphorism will be illustrated throughout the next three chapters. Thus in IV. 1. 92 तस्यात्पत्य् we read the present aphorism and add the affix अण् in the sense of 'his son'. As भोपगवः 'the son of उपगुः'; कापटवः 'the son of Kapaṭu'.

This affix has various meanings, such as, a patronymic (IV. 1. 92),

coloured with (IV. 2. 1), sidereal time (IV. 1. 3), revealed sâma-veda (IV. i. 7), covered car (IV. 2. 10) &c.

अभ्यपत्यादिभ्यश्च ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अभ्यपत्यादिभ्यः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभ्यपत्यादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यः प्राग्गीप्यतीयेष्वर्थेष्वण् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

84. The affix अण् comes after the Nominal-stems 'asvapati' &c, in the various mentioned senses taught antecedently to tena divyati &c.

This is an exception to the next aphorism, by which the affix ण् would have come after words ending with 'pati.' The present sūtra enjoins अण् instead. Thus अभ्यपति + अण् = अभ्यपतम् (VII. 2. 117 तद्धितेष्वचामहे 'when a Taddhita affix follows with an indicatory म् or ण्, there is viddhi in the room of the first vowel among the vowels'). The इ of पति is elided by VI. 4. 148 यस्येति च where long ई follows, and when a Taddhita affix follows, there is elision of the इ or ई, or म् or मा, of a *bha*.)

The following is a list of words belonging to अभ्यपत्यादि class :—

1 अभ्यपति, 2 ज्ञानपति, 3 द्युतपति, 4 धनपति, 5 गणपति, 6 स्थानपति, 7 यज्ञपति, 8 राष्ट्रपति, 9 कुलपति, 10 गृहपति, (पशुपति) 11 धान्यपति, 12 धन्यपति, 13 बन्धुपति, 14 धर्मपति, 15 सभापति, 16 प्राणपति, 17 क्षेत्रपति ॥

दित्यदित्यादित्यपत्युत्तरपदाण्यः ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिति, अदिति, आदित्य, पति-उत्तरपदात्, ण्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिति अदिति आदित्य इत्येतेभ्यः पत्युत्तरपदाश्च प्रातिपदिकात्प्राग्गीप्यतीयेष्वर्थेषु ण्यः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ यमाद्येति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वाङ्मतिपितृमतां छन्दस्युपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ श्रुथिव्या आम्रौ ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ देवायमम्रौ ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ बहिषष्टिपथम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ ईकरुच ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ ईकस्य छन्दसि ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ स्थासोकारः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ ऐमोपत्येषुबहुषु ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सर्वत्र गोरजादिप्रत्ययप्रसङ्गे यन् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ ण्यादयोर्थद्विगोपलक्षणादपवासात्पूर्वदिमतिषेधेन ॥

85. The affix ण्य comes, in the various senses taught here-in-after antecedently to tena divyati &c, after the Proper Names, Diti, Aditi, and Aditya; and that which has the word पति at its final member.

Thus दिति + ण्य = दैत्यः 'the son of Diti.' आदित्यः 'the descendant of Aditi,' आदित्यम् 'sacred to Aditya.' Similarly with words ending with पति, as प्रजापति + ण्य = प्रजापत्यः; so also सेनापत्यम् ॥

Vart.—So also after the word यम; as, याम्यम् ॥

Vart.—In the Chhandas, after the words वाच्, मति and पितृमन् ॥ As वाच्यम् (Vs, 13, 58.) मात्यम् and पितृमत्यम् ॥

Vārt.—The affixes ऋ and अण् come after the word पृथिवी ॥ Thus पृथिवी + ऋ = पार्थिव ; पृथिवी + अण् = पार्थिव ॥ The resulting forms are the same, but the feminine of the former will be पार्थिवा by IV. 1. 4, and that of the latter पार्थिवी applying IV. 1. 15.

Vārt.—The affixes बन् and भण् come after the word देव 'a god'. As देव्यन् or देवन् 'divine'.

Vārt.—There is elision of the टि of बहिष्, and there is the affix बन्; as बहिष् + बन् = बाह्यः 'external'. *Vārt.*—and the affix ईकन् may be employed. As बहिष् + ईकन् = बाह्यिकः 'external'. (VII. 2. 118 किति च, there is vṛddhi of the first vowel when the Taddhita affix has an indicative क्). *Vārt.*—In the Chhandas it takes the affix ईकन् as बाह्यिकः the difference being in the accent (VI. 1. 197).

The word बहिष् is an अव्यय, and the above vārtika declares that its ṛi portion is elided. This very fact indicates by implication, that the टि of other Avyayas need not necessarily be elided before those affixes, before which the base is called ऋ bha. In fact the following vārtika अव्ययानाञ्च (the टि of the avyaya base is elided) given under sūtra VI. 4. 144 (the टि of the base bha is elided when a taddhita affix follows) is not a universal rule. Thus from the avyaya भारतन् we get भारती &c ; here the टि is not elided.

Vārt.—Of the word स्थानन् the टि is replaced by भ as भवस्थानः ॥

Vārt.—The टि of लोमन् is replaced by ऋ in the plural when the patronymic affixes follow ; as बहुलोमाः, हल्लोमाः ॥ Why do we say in the plural number ? Witness ओदुलोमिः, चारुलोमिः (IV. 1. 99).

Vārt.—When an affix beginning with a vowel presents itself after the word गो, let the affix यन् be substituted for it. Thus what is descended (or produced, &c) from गो is expressed by गव्यन् (VI. 1. 79). Why do we say 'beginning with a vowel' ? Observe गोभ्यो हिते or भागतं = गोकव्यन् and गोमयन् ॥

Vārt.—These affixes ण्य &c, taught in this sūtra will come, to the exclusion of all the other affixes hereinafter taught, which are employed in especial senses. Thus भण् is employed especially to denote a descendant. But after the words हिति &c भण् will not be employed, but ण्य, as हित्य "a descendant of हिति". So also वानस्पत्यन् = (वानस्पतीनाम् समुहः), to the exclusion of IV. 2. 37 &c. In fact the rule विप्रतिषेधे परंकार्यम् (I. 4. 2) does not hold good here.

If that be so, how do you explain the form हितेयः ॥ This word is not directly formed from the word हिति but from हित्ति, the feminine of the word हिति, formed by the affix ङीष् (IV. 1. 45, the word हिति being formed by the Kṛit affix क्तिन् and therefore it will take ङीष् in the feminine). To the feminine word हित्ति is added ङ्क् and we get हितेयः ॥ The Paribhāṣā प्रातिपदिकप्रहणे लिङ्गविधिरप्यपि महणम् (a rule of grammar which applies to a masculine applies also,

to the same word in the feminine) is not of universal application, as this very illustration shows. Others consider the form *हेतेय* as incorrect, as not to be found either in the *Mahābhāṣya* or any *Vārtika*.

उत्सादिभ्योऽम् ॥ ८६ ॥ उत्स-आदिभ्यः, अम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उत्सादिभ्यः प्राप्तीत्यतीयेष्वयेष्वम् प्रत्ययो भवति । अणस्तत्पराणामां च बाधकः ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ मीमांस्यछन्दसीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

86. The affix *अम्* comes after the word *उत्स* &c. in the various senses taught antecedently to *tena-dīvyati* &c.

This debars the affix *अम्* taught in IV. 1. 83 as well as the especial affixes here-in-after taught. Thus *उत्स + अम् = औत्सः*, *औत्सानः* ॥ The following is the list of words belonging to *उत्सादि* class.

1 उत्स, 2 उदपान, 9 विकर, 4 विनर, 5 महानर 6 महानस, 7 महामाण, 8 तरुण, 9 तलुन । 10 वष्कयासे । 11 पृथिवी, 12 धेनु, 13 पंक्ति, 14 जगती, 15 विट्पु, 16 अनुद्वन्, 17 जनपद, 18 भरत, 19 उद्यानर, 29 मीष्म, 21 पलिकुप. । 22 उदस्थान हेतुः । 23 पृथ्वं, 24 मल्लकीय, 25 रथन्तर, 26 मध्वेदिन, 28 बृहन्, 28 महन्, 29 सत्त्वन्, 30 क्रुह, 31 पञ्चाल, 32 इन्द्रावसान, 33 उष्णिह्, 34 ककुम्, 35 सुवर्ण, 35 देव, 37 मीमांस्यछन्दसि ॥

Vdt. :—The word *मीष्म* in the above list, takes this affix, when it does not mean 'a metre of prosody'. Therefore it is not so here : *मैष्मी विष्टुप्* 'The Graishmi Tristup metre'. But *मैष्म* : 'belonging to summer'. The word *छन्दस्* here means 'metre', and not *Veda*. The word *वष्कयासे* = *वष्क्य* असे, the phrase *असे* meaning *असमासे*, (स being the name given to समास by Ancient Grammarians). Thus the compound will be *गोवष्कयिः* ॥ The *Paribhāṣā* *महणवता* *मातिपदिकेन तदन्त विधिप्रतिषेधः* does not apply here. Therefore, *tadantavidhi* applies here and we have *आधिनवम्* (*अधेनूनाम् समूहः*) ॥ The word *उदस्थान* takes *अम्* when meaning a 'place': as *औदस्थानो हेतुः*; otherwise *औदस्थनिः* 'the son of *Udasthāna*.' The word *पृथक्* takes *अम्* when meaning 'a share,' otherwise it will take *अम्*, as *पार्श्वतोऽम्* ॥

स्त्री पुंसाभ्यां नञ् छाञौ भवनात् ॥ ८७ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धान्यानां भवने इति वक्ष्यति । तस्य प्रागित्यनेनैव संबन्धः प्राग्भवनसंज्ञाध्वनाद्येर्पास्तेषु स्त्री छ-
ध्वात्सुसंज्ञाच्च यथाक्रमं नष्टमसौ प्रत्ययो भवतः ॥

87. The affixes *नञ्* and *छाञ्* come after the words *स्त्री* and *पुंस* respectively, in the senses specified in the aphorism reckoning from this one-as far as "*dhānyānām bhavane kshetre khañ*" (V. 2. 1).

Thus *स्त्री + नञ् = स्त्रीणम्* 'feminine.' The sense of the affixes taught in the Fourth Book, and Chapter I of the Fifth Book, are various, Therefore

the word स्त्रीष्व् will have all those various significations ; thus, it will mean either स्त्रीषुभवे (IV. 3. 53) 'existing in females,' or स्त्रीणां सङ्घः (IV. 2. 37) 'a collection of females; or स्त्रीभ्यागतं (IV. 3. 74) 'what has come from females'; or स्त्रीभ्यो हितं (V. 1. 5) 'suitable for females' &c.

Similarly पुंस + सङ्घ = पौंसव् 'masculine, or existing in males, or a collection of males, or what has come from males, or suitable for males &c.'

These affixes, however, are not to be employed in the sense of the affix वत् taught in V. 1. 115. For Pāṇini himself uses the form पुवत् (and not पौस) in sūtra VI. 3. 34, thus indicating by implication (ज्ञापक) that in the sense of वत्, the affix स्वप् is not to be used. Thus स्त्रीवत्, ॥ The forms स्त्रीत्, स्त्रीता, पुंसव् and पुंसत् are exceptional. See V. 1. 121. The व् of पुवत् is elided before स्वप् by VIII. 2. 23. had it not been elided, one affix वम् would have been taught in the sūtra, and not two.

द्विगोर्लुगनपत्ये ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्विगोः, लुक्, अनपत्ये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्विगोर्ध्वः संबन्धी निमित्तत्वेन तद्धितः प्राणीभ्यतीत्योऽपत्यप्रत्ययं वर्जयित्वा तस्य लुगभवति ॥

88. A Taddhita affix, ordained to come on account of the relation of the words being that of a Dvigu compound, is elided by luk, when it has the sense of the various affixes taught antecedent to *tena divyati* &c, but not so, the affix having the sense of a Patronymic.

The phrase प्राणीभ्यतः of IV. 1. 83 governs this aphorism also, and not the phrase भवनात् of the last. Thus पञ्चसु कपालेषु संस्कृतः = पञ्चकपालः 'prepared in five cups.' Similarly दशकपालः "prepared in ten cups." द्विवेदः 'he who studies two Vedas.' त्रिवेदः "who studies three Vedas." Here the affixes denoting संस्कृतं (IV. 2. 16), and गभीरं (IV. 2. 59) have been elided. Why do we say "not so when the affix denotes a Patronymic."? Observe द्वेदेवराजिः 'a descendant of two Devadattas.' त्रैदेवराजिः 'a descendant of three Devadattas.' Here the patronymic affix is not elided, though the compound is a Dvigu.

Why do we say "when it has the sense of the various affixes taught antecedent to *tena divyati*?" Observe द्वेपादायुजिकः ॥

The Dvigu compound with the sense of a Taddhita affix is formed under II. 1. 51. The affix will not, therefore, be elided where it does not give rise to a Dvigu compound. Thus पञ्चकपालस्यैव = पञ्चकपालम् ॥ Or the genitive case in द्विगोः may be taken as sthāna-shashṭhi, the sense being 'there is the substitution of लुक्-elision in the room of Dvigu,' the word Dvigu being here taken by metonymy for the affix which gives rise to Dvigu. Of course, when two words have blended into a Dvigu compound, the affixes will not be elided

after such a word, because it becomes a prâtipadika like others, as पाञ्चकपालम् ॥ If so, how is the affix elided in पञ्चकपालात् संस्कृतः = पञ्चकपालः ? This is not so ; there is no Taddhita added, and the word पञ्चकपाल can never be analysed into पञ्चकपालात् संस्कृतः, ॥ If the latter sense is to be expressed, we must use a sentence, and no single word. In fact three are the only valid forms, and they arise without adding of any Taddhita affix to पञ्चकपाली, viz पञ्चसु कपालेषु संस्कृतः, पञ्चकपालाद्वा संस्कृतः, and पञ्चकपालः (a Samahâra Dvigu). A Samahâra and a Taddhitârtha Dvigu of these are analysed in the same way, while the third पञ्चकपालात् संस्कृतः will always remain a वाक्य and never give rise to a Taddhita.

How do you explain the non-elision of the affix in त्रैविद्यः, पाञ्चनदः and वाङ्कुलः ? The word त्रैविद्यः does not mean तिस्रो विद्या अधीते but त्रयवयवा विद्या, त्रिविद्या, त्रिविद्यामधीते = त्रैविद्यः ॥ Similarly पाञ्चनदः does not mean पञ्चसु नदीषु भवः but पञ्चानाम् नदीनाम् समाहारः = पञ्चनदः, पञ्चनदे भवः = पाञ्चनदः ॥ So also with वाङ्कुलं ॥

Why the affix is not elided in पञ्चभ्यो गङ्गाभ्य आगतं = पञ्चगङ्गाकूप्यम् or पञ्चगङ्गामयम् ? Because the elision of those affixes only take place which begin with a vowel.

गोत्रेऽलुगचि ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ गोत्रे, अलुक्, अचि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यस्कादिभ्यो गोत्रहत्यादिना येषां गोत्रप्रत्ययानां लुगुक्तस्तेषामजाते प्राग् दीप्यतीदे विषयभूते प्रतिषिद्धते ॥

89. The luk-elision of Patronymic (Gotra) affixes in the plural, which have been enjoined by Sûtras II. 4. 63 and the rest, is prohibited, when the affix has an initial vowel, and it has the sense of the various affixes taught antecedent to tena divyati &c (IV. 4. 2).

Thus the plural of गार्ग्य is गर्गाः (II. 4. 64). But the disciples of गर्गाः will be formed by the affix छ (IV. 21. 114) which is a pragdivyattya affix. and for the purposes of adding this affix the base will be considered to be गार्ग्यः as if there was no elision. Thus गार्ग्याः + छ = गार्गीयाः (VII. 1. 2 and VI. 4. 151), and not गर्गीयाः । Similarly वात्सीयाः, आत्रयीयाः, खारपायणीयाः, disciples of Vâtsyas, Atreya, Khârpâyanas.

Why do we say "गोत्रे" i. e. "when the Gotra affix is elided"? Observe कोबलम्, बादरम् ॥ Here the affix denoting "fruit" is elided by लुक् by Sûtra IV. 3. 163. Then when the pragdivyattya affix अण् is added, the luk-elision is maintained. Thus the fruit of बदरी is बदरम्; from which बादरम् 'belonging to or coming from the jujube-fruit.'

Why do we say "having an initial vowel"? Observe गर्गेभ्य आगतम् = गर्गकूप्यम् and not गर्गकूप्यम्; and गर्गमयम्; and not गर्गमयम् ॥ Here the affix रूप्य,

a *prâgdivyatiya* affix taught in *sûtra* IV. 3. 81 does not begin with a vowel; therefore it is added to गर्ग and not गार्ग्य ॥ Similarly the next affix नयद् (IV. 3. 82).

Why do we say "when it has the sense of a *prâgdivyatiya* affix"? Thus गर्गे-बो हितम्-गर्गीयम् 'who is fit for the Gargas'. Here the affix छ (V. 1. 1) has the sense of 'suitable for that', as taught in *Sûtra* V. 1. 5 not one of the *prâgdivyatiya* senses. Hence the *luk* elision is maintained.

The *Gotra*-affixes are taught to be elided in the plural only: and when after such supposed elision a Singular or Dual Person is intended, this rule will still apply and there will be no elision. Thus विद् will form its *Gotra* derivative by अम् (IV. 1. 104) as विद्+अम्=वेद् ॥ The plural of वेद् will be विद्वाः by the elision of अम् ॥ One *yuvan* or two *yuvan* descendants of these विद्वाः will be formed by the affix इम् (IV. 1. 95), for the application of which the word विद्वाः will be supposed not to have lost its अम्, therefore इम् will be added to वेद्, thus वेद्+इम्; then this इम् is elided by II. 4. 58. The resultant form is वेदः, वेदो ॥ The many descendants (in the plural) of one वेदः or two वेदोः will be विद्वाः ॥

युनि लुक् ॥९०॥ पदानि ॥ युनि लुक् (अचि)

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राग् दीप्यत इति वर्तते । अचीति च । प्राग्दीप्यतीयेऽजादौ प्रत्यये विवक्षिते बुद्धित्वेऽनुत्पन्ने एव युवप्रत्ययस्य लुक् भवति । तस्मिन्निवृत्ते सति यो यतः प्राप्नोति स ततो भवति ॥

90. There is *luk* elision of the *Yuvan* Patronymic forming affix (IV. 1. 163) when a *prâgdivyatiya* affix beginning with a vowel is to be added.

The elision of the *Yuvan* affix must take place mentally; having done which, we should then look out for the proper *Prâgdivyatiya* affix to be added to the word-form thus remaining. Thus the Patronymic (*Gotra*) of काण्डाहृतः is काण्डाहृतिः (IV. 1. 95) formed by adding इम् ॥ The *Yuvan* form of the latter (by *Sûtra* IV. 1. 150) will be काण्डाहृतः ॥ When we intend to add a *Prâgdivyatiya* affix to this last word, (e. g. an affix having the sense of "the pupils of";) we should first mentally elide the *Yuvan* affix च (IV. 1. 150) from this word काण्डाहृतः ॥ Having done which we get the form काण्डाहृतिः; and it is with regard to this form काण्डाहृतिः that we should search out what is the proper pupil-denoting affix: and that by *sûtra* IV. 2. 112 is अम् ॥ Thus काण्डाहृतिः+अम्=काण्डाहृताः 'the pupils of Phânîhṛitas'. Had we in the *first* instance applied the pupil denoting affix to the *Yuvan* word काण्डाहृतः, such affix would have been छ and not अम्, for the latter is ordained for those cases only where the word ends with the *Gotra* affix इम् (IV. 2. 112).

Similarly the Patronymic of भागवत्त is भागवत्ति (IV. 1. 25). The

Yuvan of भागविति is भागवित्तिक् (IV. 1. 148). The pupils of Bhāgavittika will be भागवित्ताः by adding the affix अण् (IV. 2. 112).

Similarly the Patronymic of तिका is तैकायनि formed by क्तिम् (IV. 1. 154). The Yuvan of तैकायनि is तैकायनीव formed by the affix उ (IV. 1. 149). The word denoting the pupils of तैकायनीव will be formed by adding उ (IV. 2. 114) not to this word, but to तैकायनि ॥ Thus तैकायनीवः ॥

Similarly the Patronymic of कपिञ्जलाह is कपिञ्जलाहिः (IV. 1. 95). The Yuvan derivative of the latter will be कापिञ्जल्ययः (IV. 1. 151). The word denoting pupils of the कापिञ्जल्यय will be कापिञ्जल्ययाः (IV. 2. 112).

Similarly Patronymic from गुरुशुक् is गुरुशुकायनिः (IV. 1. 160), the Yuvan of the latter is गुरुशुकायनः (IV. 1. 83); the word denoting the pupils of the latter is गुरुशुकायनाः by (IV. 2. 112) formed from गुरुशुकायनि ॥ Why do we say "an affix beginning with a vowel"? Observe काण्डाहतरुप्यम् and काण्डाहतरुमयम् ॥ Why do we say "a Prāgdīvyatiya affix"? Observe भागवित्तिक्काय हितं = भागवित्तीयम् ॥ (See the last Sūtra).

फक्फिजोरन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ फक्-फिजोः, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ फक्फिजोर्युवप्रत्ययोः प्राग्वीप्यतीयेऽन्त्यौ प्रत्यये विवक्षितेऽन्यतरस्यां जुगु भवति ॥

91. There is optionally luk-elision of the Yuvan affixes फक् and फिज् when a Prāgdīvyatiya affix beginning with a vowel is to be added.

By the last sūtra, all Yuvan affixes were told to be elided. The present sūtra declares an option in the case of the Yuvan affixes फक् and फिज्. Thus the patronymic of गर्ग is गार्ग्य (IV. 1. 105); the Yuvan of गार्ग्य is formed by फक् (IV. 1. 101) गार्ग्यायणः ॥ The word denoting the pupils of Gārgyaṇa will be गार्गीय or गार्ग्यायणीयाः; यास्कीयाः or यास्कायानीयाः ॥ Similarly of the affix फिज् (IV. 1. 156). Thus from यस्क, the Patronymic is यास्क (IV. 1. 112). The Yuvan of the latter is यास्कायनि (IV. 1. 146). The pupils of Yāskāyani will be called यास्कीय or यास्कायनीयाः ॥

तस्यापत्यम् ॥ ९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्य-अपत्यम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अर्थनिर्णयोयं, पूर्वैरुक्तस्य प्रत्ययेऽभिसेवद्यते । तस्येति पृथीतमर्थारपत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति, प्रकृत्यो भवति प्रकृत्यर्थविशिष्टपृथगर्थोऽपत्यनामकेह गृह्यते ॥

92. The affix अण् mentioned in IV. 1. 83 and those which follow it denote 'the descendant of some one'.

This sūtra points out the meaning of the affixes; and it refers to the affixes that have preceded, beginning from अण् (IV. 1. 83) e. g. अण्, प्य, अम् &c and to the affixes that follow. The affixes herein taught have the force of denoting descendant, when they are added to the word in construction which

is in the genitive case. The translation given by Dr. Ballantyne of this aphorism is:—"Let the affixes already mentioned or to be mentioned come optionally in the sense of *the offspring thereof*, after what word ending with the sixth case-affix and having completed its junction (with whatever it may require to be compounded with), is in grammatical relation there to".

Thus we may either use the sentence उपगोरपत्यम्; or by adding मञ् (IV. 1. 83) to the word उपगु (which has the 6th. case-affix in construction in the above sentence), form औपगवः "the offspring of Upagu". आभ्यपतः (IV. 1. 84) 'the offspring of अभ्यपति', दैत्यः (IV. 1. 85) 'the offspring of Diti' औत्सः (IV. 1. 86) "the offspring of Utsa". स्त्रियः (IV. 1. 87) 'the offspring of a woman'. पितृन् (IV. 1. 87) 'the offspring of a man'.

The Universal sūtra तस्येदम् (IV. 3. 120) will include this अपत्य also for the word इदम् may be applied to any-thing like अपत्यं, समूहः, विकारः, निवासः &c. Since by that rule IV. 3. 120 मञ् &c, may be applied in the sense of *apatyam* also, what is the necessity of this present sūtra? The present sūtra is made in order to debar those affixes like छ, (IV. 3. 114) which debar the affix मञ् &c in the case of तस्येदम्॥ How can an अपत्येदम् affix debar a छेदिक affix? The उत्सर्ग affixes मञ् &c are treated like छेदिक for this purpose. Thus these affixes मञ् (IV. 1. 83-87) debar the छ in the Viddham under certain circumstances. Thus भानोरपत्यं = भानवः, so also भ्यामपत्यः from भ्यामपुः (श्यामा गावोऽस्य)॥

Kūrīdā तस्येदमित्यपत्येपि बाधनार्थं कृतं भवेत् ।

उत्सर्गः छेष एवासी वृद्धान्यस्य प्रयोजनम् ॥

एको गोत्रे ॥ ९३ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपत्यं पौत्रप्रभृति गोत्रं, तस्मिन् विवक्षितं भेदेन प्रत्यपत्यं प्रत्ययोल्लसिप्रसङ्गे निबन्धः क्रियते । गोत्रे एक एव भवति, सर्वेऽपत्येन युज्यन्ते ॥

93. The one and the same affix is employed when a more distant descendant, how low so-ever, is to be denoted.

The word Gotra is defined in Sūtra IV. 1. 152 and means the offspring beginning with the grandson. There would have arisen the application of a separate affix in denoting the descendant of every one of such persons; the present sūtra declares a restriction. Thus the son of गर्गः is गार्गि (IV. 1. 95). The son of गार्गिः (or in other words the grandson of गर्गः) is गार्ग्यः (IV. 1. 105). This is formed by a Gotra affix. Now the son of गार्ग्यः will also be called गार्ग्यः, no new affix will be added. In fact, in denoting the Gotra descendants how low soever, the affix यम् will be added to the word गर्गः, though there may be several intermediate descendants. Thus the sūtra restricts the application of the affix. Or in another view of the matter, it may be said to restrict the

base to which the affix is to be added. Thus the son of गार्ग्य will be formed by adding the affix इम् not to the base गार्ग्य (which would have been the case were IV. 1. 92 strictly applied), but to the base गर्ग ॥ So that *one* base is to be taken and adhered to throughout, in applying Gotra affixes.

गोत्राद्यून्यस्त्रियाम् ॥ ९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ गोत्रात्, यूनि, अस्त्रियाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अयमपि नियमः दून्यपत्ये विवक्षिते गोत्रादेव प्रत्ययो भवति, न परमप्रकृत्यन्तरद्वयम् ॥

94. When a descendant of the description denoted by Yuvan (IV. 1. 163) is intended to be expressed, a new affix is attached, only after what already ends with an affix marking a descendant as low at least as a grandson (gotra): but in the Feminine the word is not termed Yuvan, and no new affix is added.

This is also a *niyama* or restrictive rule. Thus the Yuvan of गार्ग्य is गार्ग्यायणः (IV. 1. 101). Similarly वात्स्यायणः, शास्त्रायणः, ब्राह्मणः, औपगविः, नाडायनिः ॥

Why do we say "but in the Feminine the word is not termed Yuvan"? Observe दाक्षी which is the feminine of दाक्षिः (Gotra) as well as of दाक्षायणः (Yuvan). Similarly दाक्षी feminine of दाक्षिः and दाक्षायणः ॥ In short, Yuvan affixes are not added in the feminine. If it is intended to denote a feminine descendant of the kind Yuvan, the feminine word formed by Gotra affix will denote such a descendant also.

What is here prohibited i. e. is the term Gotra superseded by the term Yuvan? If it is a *niyama* rule, there will be no *niyama* with regard to the feminine, as the prohibition is contained in the same sentence. Therefore in the feminine, the Yuvan affix will not get the designation of Gotra, because Gotra-name is debarred by Yuvan Name. Therefore the sūtra should be divided in two, e. g. गोत्राद् यूनि प्रत्ययो भवति (2) ततोऽस्त्रियाम् ॥ (1) After a Gotra-formed word a new affix is added in denoting a Yuvan descendant, (2) but not so in the feminine. In fact the name Yuvan is prohibited in the feminine, therefore, the feminine will be known Gotra always and never by Yuvan.

अत इम् ॥ ९५ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्यापत्यमित्येव । भक्तारान्ताध्यातिपदिकादिम् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

95. The affix इम् comes after a Nominal-stem which ends in short अ, in denoting a descendant.

This debars अम् (IV. 1. 83). Thus दाक्ष्यापत्यं = दाक्षिः 'descendant of Daksha'. Why do we say short अ (for this is the force of the letter न् added to अ, by I. 1. 69 and 70)? The descendant of शुभेयाः or कीलात्पाः (words which end in long आ) will not be formed by the affix इम् ॥

The descendant of इक्ष्व by this sūtra is इक्ष्वत्तिः, but the form इक्ष्वत्तिः formed by अण् is also met with. As “प्रदीयताम् इक्ष्वत्तये मैथिली” ‘Give Sita to the son of Dasaratha.’

बाह्वादिभ्यश्च ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ बाहु-आदिभ्यः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बाहु इत्येवमादिभ्यः घञेभ्योऽपत्ये इस् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ संभूयोम्भसोः सलोपश्च ॥

वा० ॥ बाह्वादिप्रभृतिषु येषां दर्शनं गोत्रभावे लौकिके ततोऽन्यत्र तेषां प्रतिषेधः ॥

वा० ॥ संबन्धिघञानां च तत्सङ्गघञातिषेधः ॥

96. The affix इस् is added in the sense of a descendant, after the words ‘Bāhu’ &c.

Thus बाहुविः “a descendant of the clan of Bāhu.” The words ‘Bāhu’ &c, either do not end in short अ, thus making the last rule inapplicable; or if they end in short अ, then some other rule would have prohibited the application of इस्. Hence the necessity of the present sūtra.

This is a class of words recognizable only by the form (आकृतिगण).

1 बाहु, 2 उपबाहु, 3 उपवाहु, 4 निवाहु, 5 शिवाहु, 6 वदाहु, 7 उपनिवु (उपवि-
वु) 8 वृषली, 9 वृकला, 10 वृडा, 11 बलाका, 12 मृषिका, 13 कुचला, 14 भगला (उग-
ला) 15 ध्रुवका, 16 ध्रुवका, 17 सुमित्रा, 18 सुमित्रा, 19 पुष्करसङ्, 20 अनुहरन्, 21 देवस्य-
मन्, 22 अग्निधर्मन्, 23 अग्निधर्मन्, 24 सुधर्मन्, 25 कुनामन्, 26 सुनामन्, 27 पञ्चमन्, 28 स-
प्तन्, 29 अष्टन्, 30 अमृतौजसः सलोपश्च, 31 सुधावन्, 32 उदङ्मु, 33 शिरस्, 34 माघ, 35
शापविन्, 36 मरीची, 37 क्षेमवद्विन्, 38 घङ्खलतोदिन्, 39 खरनादिन्, 40 नगरमर्दिन्, 41 प्रा-
कार्मर्दिन्, 42 लोमन्, 43 अजीर्गर्त, 44 कृष्ण, 45 शुषिष्ठि, 46 अर्जुन, 47 साम्, 48 गद, 49 प्रद्युम्न, 50 राम, 51 उदङ्, 52 उदकः संज्ञायाम्, 53 संभूयोम्भसोः सलोपश्च, 54 वृक, 55
वृडाल, 56 सलक ॥ आकृतिगणोऽयम् ॥ तेन । 57 सात्वकिः 58 जाड्विः 59 ऐन्द्रधर्मिः 60
आजधेनविः इत्यादि ॥

Vart:—The words बाहु &c must be Proper Names, being heads of Gotras from whom clans take their name: otherwise the affix इस् will not be applied. Thus the son of a private person called बाहु will be बाहुवः ॥

Vart:—The operations to be effected upon words denoting relation are prohibited with regard to the same word-forms when denoting Proper Names. Thus the offspring of श्वशुर meaning ‘father-in-law’ is श्वशुरवः, but when it means a person called Śvaśura, then the derivative will be श्वशुरिः ॥

The च in the sūtra indicates that other words not included in the list also take this affix. Thus आन्विः, ऐन्द्रधर्मिः, आजधेनविः, आजधन्धविः, औदुलोभिः ॥

सुधातुरकञ् च ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुधातुः अकङ्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुधातुघञादपत्ये इस् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्सन्नियोगेन च तत्साकङ्गादिषो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ व्यासवरुडनिपादघञालविम्बानामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

97. The affix इम् is placed after the word sudhâtri in denoting the descendant, and the ऋ of sudhâtri is replaced by the substitute अकङ् before this affix.

Thus सुधातुरपत्यम् = सौधातकिः 'the descendant of Sudhâtri.'

Vdt.:—The substitute अकङ् replaces the finals of व्यास, वरुह, निषाद, चण्डाल and इन्ध्र when the Patronymic इम् is to be added. Thus वैद्यासकिः, वारुहकिः, नैषादकिः, चाण्डालकिः, वैन्ध्रकिः ॥

गोत्रे कुञ्जादिभ्यश्च फञ् ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ गोत्रे, कुञ्जादिभ्यः, च् फञ् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ गोत्रसंज्ञके ऽपत्ये वाच्ये कुञ्जादिभ्यश्च फञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

98. The affix 'chphañ' comes after the words 'Kuñja' &c, when a remoter descendant (called Gotra) is to be denoted.

This debars इम् ॥ Of the affix च्फञ् the letter झ् is for the sake of distinguishing this affix from the affix फञ्; such as in sūtra V. 3. 113, by which the words ending in affix च्फञ् take the further affix झ् (ञ्य), in order to form a complete word. The letter झ् of this affix causes Vṛiddhi (VII. 2. 117). Then remains फ् which by sūtra VII. 1. 2, is replaced by भायन् ॥ Thus कुञ्ज + च्फञ् = कौञ्ज + भायन् + भ = कौञ्जायन. This is not a complete word as yet. We must add य by sūtra V. 3. 113. Thus the full word is कौञ्जायन्यः 'the grandson or a lower descendant of Kuñja' dual of it is कौञ्जायन्यो, plural is कौञ्जायनाः; the affix ञ्य being elided by II. 5. 62, in the plural, it being an affix of the तद्भाज class (IV. 1. 174). Similarly ब्रौधायन्यः, ब्रौधायन्यो, ब्राधायनाः ॥

Why do we say "when a Gotra descendant is to be denoted?" Observe कौञ्जिः "the son of Kuñja". Here इम् is added by IV. 1. 95 in denoting immediate descendant. There is difference in the accent of these words, in the different numbers. Thus in the singular and dual, the accent will be regulated by the latter झ् of the affix ञ्य which is added in those numbers. But this affix being elided in the plural, the accent there will be regulated by the letter च् of च्फञ् ॥ That is to say, in the singular and dual, the udâtta will fall on the first syllable (VI. 1. 197); in the plural, it will fall on the last syllable (VI. 1. 164).

The word गोत्रे of this sūtra governs the succeeding sūtras up to aphorism IV. 1. 112: so that all the affixes taught in these fifteen sūtras denote grandsons or descendants lower than that.

1 कुञ्ज, 2 ब्रध, 3 चहृत्, 4 मत्सन् 5 गज, 6 लोमन्, 7 द्यद, 8 शाक, 9 शु-
ण्डा, 10 शुभ, 11 विपाद्य, 12 स्कन्, 13 स्कम्भ, 14 शकट, 15 शुम्भा, 16 शिव, 17 शुभ-
वि ॥

मडादिभ्यः फक् ॥ ९९ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नड इत्येवमादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो गोत्रापत्ये फक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

99. The affix फक् comes, in denoting a Gotra descendant, after the Nominal-stems नड and the rest.

Thus नाडायनः (नड + फक् = नाड + आयन VII. 2. 118 and VII. 1. 2). Similarly चारयनः "the grandson or a lower descendant of Naḍa or Chara". But the son of नड will be नाडिः (IV. 1. 95).

The word चालंकु is changed to चालंङ् before this affix. Thus चालंकावनः ॥ The word चालंकिः occurs in पैदादि class II. 4. 59, the Yuvan affix is, therefore, elided after it, thus चालंकिः is a common name for 'father' and 'son'. It takes ह्स् by IV. 1. 96, as belonging to Bāhvādi class which is an Akṛti-gaṇa. The word अग्निधर्मन् takes फक् when denoting the वृषगण gotra, e. g. अग्निधर्मन्वृषगणः = वार्ष-गणः; otherwise the form will be अग्निधर्मन् ॥ The word कुष्म will form काष्मन्वनः when a Brāhmaṇa is meant; otherwise कार्ष्णिः, so also राजावनः = वासिष्ठः, otherwise राजिः ॥ The word क्रोष्टु is changed to क्रोड as क्रोटावनः ॥

1 नड, 2 चर, (चर) 3 बक्, 4 भुञ्ज, 5 इतिक, 6 इतिष्ठ, 7 उपक्, 8 एक, 9 ल-
नक्। 10 चालंकु चालंङ् च। 11 सत्तल, 12 वाञ्छ, 13 तिक। 14 अग्निधर्मन्वृषगणे। 15 प्राण
16 नर, 17 सायक, 18 रास, 19 मित्र, 20 द्वीप, 21 पिङ्गर, 22 पिङ्गल, 23 किकर, 24 कि-
ङ्कन, 25 कातर, 26 कातल, 27 कादयप (कुदयप) 28 कादय, 29 कास्य (कास्य) 30 भञ्ज,
31 भमृष्य (भमृष्य) 32 कुष्मण्यो ब्राह्मणवासिष्ठे। 33 अमित्र, 34 लिगु, 35 चित्र, 36 कुमार,
37 क्रोष्टु क्रोष्ट च। 38 लोह, 39 दुर्ग, 40 स्तम्भ, 41 धिद्यक्षा, 42 भय, 43 वृण, 44 चकट,
45 सुमनस, 46 सुमत, 47 मिमस, 48 ऋच, 49 जलंधर, 50 भधर, 51 भुगंधर, 52 ईसक,
53 हण्डिन्, 54 हस्तिन्, 55 पिण्ड, 56 पंचाल, 57 चमसिन्, 58 सुकृत्व, 59 स्थिरक, 60
ब्राह्मण, 61 चटक, 62 बहुर, 63 अभ्यल, 64 खरप, 65 लङ्, 66 इन्ध, 67 भय, 68 कामुक,
69 ब्रह्मरत्न, 70 उदुम्बर, 71 शोच, 72 भलोह, 73 हण्डप, 74 जन्, 75 भभ्यक, 76 वान-
प्य, 77 नाप्य, 78 भन्वजत, 79 भन्तजन, 80 इत्यप, 81 भंशक, 82 वान, 83 काम, 84 वात ॥

हरितादिभ्योऽञ्जः ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ हरित-आदिभ्यः, अञ्जः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हरितादिर्विशयान्तर्गणः। हरितादिभ्यो ऽञ्जन्तेभ्योपत्ये फक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

100. The affix फक् comes after the words हरित &c, when they end in the affix अञ्ज (IV. 1. 104).

The words हरित &c, form a subdivision of विद् class, which class by IV. 1. 104 takes the affix अञ्ज in forming Gotra words. Thus the Gotra descendant of हरित will be हारित (हरित + अञ्ज). The son of हारित will be formed by this sūtra and not by IV. 1. 95. Thus हारित + फक् = हारितायनः "the son of Hārita or the great-grandson of Hārita". In fact, the force of the affix फक् of this Sūtra is that of a Yuvan affix, though it is taught in the chapter of Gotra affixes; because according to the general rule IV. 1. 98 one Gotra affix can be only added to a word, and the word हारित being already formed by a Gotra affix

अस्य will not take again another Gotra affix कक् ॥ Therefore, कक् is here a Yuvan-affix.

यजिञोश्च ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ यज्-इञोः, च, (कक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यमन्तादिमन्ताच्च प्रातिपदिकादपत्ये कक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

101. The affix कक् is added in denoting a descendant after a Nominal-stem ending in the affixes यञ् and इञ् ॥

The कक् of this sūtra has, like that of the preceding sūtra, the force of a Yuvan affix, since it is to be added to words formed by the Gotra affixes यञ् and इञ् ॥ Thus गर्ग+यञ् (IV. 1. 105) = गार्ग्यः ॥ गार्ग्य+कक् = गार्ग्यवधः ॥ इक्ष+इञ् = इक्षिः ; इक्षि+कक् = इक्षायणः ॥ It is not every word which ends in यञ् or इञ् which takes the Yuvan affix कक् ; but only that word where the affix यञ् or इञ् has the force of a Gotra affix. Thus the affix यञ् is added by IV. 3. 10 to denote proximity to a sea. As द्वीप+यञ् = द्वीप्यः ॥ This word will not take the affix कक् ॥ Similarly by IV. 2. 80 the affix इञ् is added to the words सुतंगम &c, the force of the affix being चानुवर्त्यक ॥ Thus सौतंगमिः. This word will not take the affix कक् ॥

शरद्वच्चुनकदर्भाद्भृगुवत्साग्रायणेषु ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ शरद्वत्, चुनक, दर्भा-
त्, भृगु, वत्स, आग्रायणेषु (कक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोत्र इत्येव । शरद्वत् चुनक दर्भ इत्येतेभ्यो गोत्रापत्ये कक् प्रत्ययो भवति यथासंख्यं भृगुवत्साग्रायणेष्वप्यपत्यविधेयेषु ॥

102. The affix कक् comes in denoting a Gotra descendant after the words 'saradvat', 'sunaka', and 'darbha', when they denote the descendants of Bhṛigu, Vatsa and Agrāyana respectively.

Thus शरद्वत्तावनः = भार्गवः otherwise शरद्वत्तः (formed by अञ्) सौनकावनः = वात्स्यः ; otherwise सौनकः, शर्भायणः = आमायणः, otherwise शर्भिः, (formed by इञ् IV. 1. 95).

The words शरद्वत् and चुनक belonging to विशादि class would by IV. 1. 104 have taken the affix अञ् in denoting Gotra, the present sūtra prohibits that in certain cases and enjoins कक् instead.

द्रोणपर्वतजीवन्तादन्यतरस्याम् ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्रोण, पर्वत, जीवन्तात्, अन्यतरस्याम् (कक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोत्र इत्येव । द्रोणादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो गोत्रापत्यजन्यतरस्यां कक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

103. The affix कक् comes, in the sense of a Gotra descendant, optionally after the words 'Drona,' 'parvata,' and 'jivanta.'

This debars इष्ट of IV. 1.95. Thus द्वीपावनः or द्वीपिः, पार्वतावनः or पार्वतिः, वैवन्तावनः or वैवन्तिः ॥

The affix कङ् is employed in denoting a remote (gotra) offspring and not an immediate descendant or son. How is then मद्रवत्याना the son of Droṇa, called द्वीपावनः and not द्वीपिः in the phrase “मद्रवत्याना द्वीपावनः”? The द्वीप here does not refer to the Droṇa of the Mahabhārāt, but to some ancient founder of a clan of that name, and his descendants were called द्वीपावनाः ॥ In modern times, by an easy error, Aśvatthāmā was called Drauṇāyana, owing to the similarity of sounds.

अनुप्यानन्तर्ये विदादिभ्योऽञ् ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुषि-आनन्तर्ये, विदादिभ्यः, अञ् ॥

श्रुतिः ॥ गोत्रस्येव । विदादिभ्यो गोत्रापत्येऽप्रत्ययो भवति । वे पुनरानुषिपञ्चः पुत्रापत्येऽप्यञ्जन्त्यपत्य एव भवति । अनुप्यानन्तर्यस्यस्यानन्तर्यः, अनुषिभ्योऽनन्तरे भवतीति ॥

104. The affix अञ् comes after the words ‘Bida’ &c, in denoting a remote (Gotra) descendant: but after those words of this class which are not the names of ancient sages, the affix अञ् has the force of denoting immediate descendant.

This Sūtra consists of four words: अनुषि “non-Rishi or not being the name of a sage”; आनन्तर्ये ‘in expressing an *immediate* descendant.” विदादिभ्यः “after Bidādi words” अञ् “the affix अञ्.” Thus of the words falling in Bidādi class, the words like पुत्र ‘son,’ पुहिन् daughter,’ मनान् ‘sister-in-law’ are common nouns and not names of Rishis. When the affix अञ् is added to these words, it has the force of denoting immediate descendant. Thus पुत्र + अञ् = पौत्रः ‘grand-son.’ पुहिन् + अञ् = पौहिनः “daughter’s son.” But when added to other words which express the names of Rishis, the affix अञ् makes the Gotra descendants. Thus विद् + अञ् = वैद्: ‘the grandson or a descendant lower than that of Bida.’

How in a context relating to Gotra affixes, we come to this two fold meaning of this sūtra? To this we reply, that the phrase अनुप्यानन्तर्ये should be thus construed. The word ‘anūṣhi’ is in the ablative case, the case affix being elided. The word आनन्तर्ये is the same as अनन्तर, the affix एव being added without change of significance. Therefore the words like पौत्र &c. denote the *immediate* (anantara) descendant of पुत्र &c, and do not denote a remote descendant (gotra), nor a descendant in general. Therefore, the above phrase means:—‘after a Bidādi word which is not the name of a Rishi, the affix ‘an’ is added in denoting an *immediate* descendant.’

Q. Another way of explaining the phrase is this, the word 'Anantarya' is equal to 'nairantarya' = 'uninterrupted succession.' Therefore, where there is an uninterrupted succession of Rishis between the first name and the person to be designated by a Patronymic, there the affix 'an' will not be added. Thus the word कश्यप belongs to the Bidādi class. 'Indrabhū' a seventh descendant of Kaśyapa, will not be denoted by काश्यप formed with अम्, because between इन्द्रभू and कश्यप, there is an unbroken series of Rishis, but by अम् of IV. 1. 114. Therefore the following phrase will be valid इन्द्रभूः सप्तमः काश्यपानाम् ॥ For अम् is elided in the plural by II. 4. 64, but काश्यपानाम् is plural of काश्यप formed with the general patronymic अम् of IV. 1. 114 and hence not elided.

A. This explanation is not to be preferred, merely in order to explain the word काश्यपानाम् in इन्द्रभूः सप्तमः काश्यपानाम् ॥ The general Patronymic ऋषि affix अम् of IV. 1, 114 is not debarred by this अम् ॥ Therefore काश्यप with अम् will denote इन्द्रभूः, which may also be denoted by काश्यप formed with अम् ॥ For had the above explanation been correct, then विश्वामित्र the grandson of Kusika could never be called कौशिकः (formed with अम्), for both Gādhi the father of Viśvāmitra, and Kuśika the grand-father were Rishis.

In denoting an immediate descendant or a descendant in general, the Rishi words विद् &c, will take other appropriate affixes. Thus विद् forms वैदि 'a descendant of Bida' by IV. 1. '96 इम् and not by ऋष्यम् of IV. 1. 114, because विद् is supposed to belong to the Akṛtigaṇa of Bāhvādi.

1 विद्, 2 उर्व, 3 कश्यप, 4 कुशिक, 5 भरद्वाज, 6 उपमन्तु, 7 किलात, 8 कन्वर्ष (किर्ष) 9 विश्वानर, 10 ऋषिपेण (ऋषियेण) 11 ऋतभाग, 12 हर्यश्च, 13 मियक, 14 आ-पस्तम्ब, 15 कूचवार, 16 शरद्भू, 17 शुनक (शुनक्) 18 धेनु, 19 गोपवन, 20 शिशु, 21 विन्नु, 22 भोगक, 23 भाजन, 24 शमिक, 25 अम्भावतान, 26 इयानाक, 27 इयानक, 28 इयावलि, 29 इयापर्ण, 30 हरित, 31 किंसास, 32 बह्यस्क, 33 अर्कशूष (अर्कशूक) 34 बभ्यो-ग, 35 विष्णु, 36 इन्द्र, 37 प्रतिबोध, 38 रचित, 39 रयीतर (रयन्तर) 40 गविष्ठिर, 41 निषार, 42 शबर, 43 अलस, 44 मरु, 45 मृडाकु, 46 लूपाकु, 47 मृदु, 48 पुनर्दु, 49 पूष, 50 शुहिव, 51 ननान्, 52 परस्त्री परशु च । 53 किन्त्यलप, 54 सम्बक्, 55 इयायक ॥

The word परस्त्री in the above list is replaced by परशु when taking the affix अम् ॥ Thus परस्त्रिया अपत्यं = पारशुवः (the son of a Brāhmaṇa begotten on a Śūdra woman, who though married to the Brāhmaṇa is परस्त्री 'a strange woman' owing to the great difference of race).

The word परस्त्री occurs in अनुशक्तिकारि (VII. 3. 20) and कल्याण्यादि (IV. 1. 126) classes also. Therefore when the sense is 'a son begotten on another's wife' who is also called परस्त्री, the form will be पारस्त्रेयः, with double vṛddhi of both members by VII. 3. 20: which does not take place in the case of पारशुवः ॥

गर्गादिभ्यो यञ् ॥ १०५ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोत्रादित्येव । गर्गादिभ्यो गोत्रापत्ये बह् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

105. The affix यञ् comes, in the sense of Gotra descendant, after the words 'Garga' &c.

Thus गार्ग्यः, 'the grandson or a still lower descendant of Garga', so also वात्स्यः &c.

1 गर्ग, 2 वत्स, 3 वाजसे, 4 संस्क्रुति, 5 भञ्ज, 6 व्याघ्रपान्, 7 विरभृन्, 8 प्राचीनयोग, 9 भगस्ति, 10 पुलस्ति, 11 चमस्, 12 रेभ, 13 अग्निवेश, 14 शंख, 15 छद, 16 शक, 17 एक, 18 धूम, 19 भवद, 20 मनस्, 21 धनेज्जब, 22 वृक्ष, 23 विश्वावसु, 24 अरमाज, 25 लोहित, 26 संसित, 27 बभ्र, 28 वल्गु, 29 मण्डु, 30 गण्डु, 31 शंखु, 32 सिन्धु, 33 गुह्यु, 34 मन्तु, 35 मंशु, 36 भलिगु, 37 जिगीषु, 38 मनु, 39 तन्तु, 40 मनावी, 41 सुनु, 42 कयक, 43 कण्यक, 44 वृक्ष, 45 वृक्ष (वृक्ष) 46 तनु, 47 तरुक्ष, 48 तनुक्ष, 49 तण्ड, 50 बतण्ड, 51 कपिकत, 52 कत, 53 कष, 54 मृत, 55 कुक्षकत, 56 अननुह, 57 कवि, 58 पुष्कस्त, 59 शक्ति, 60 कण्व, 61 शकल, 62 गोकक्ष, 63 भगस्त्व, 64 कुण्डिनी 65 यज्ञवल्की, 66 पर्णवल्क, 67 भनयजात, 68 शिरोहित, 69 वृषगज, 70 रङ्गगज, 71 शण्डिन, 72 वर्णक (चणक) 73 पुलक, 77 मुल्ल, 75 मुसल, 76 जमदग्नि, 77 पपशर, 78 अहर्कर्म (आहर्कर्म) 79 महित, 80 मन्त्रित, 81 अमरय, 82 शर्कराक्ष, 83 वृत्तिशप, 84 स्थूग, 85 अक्षरक (भरक) 86 एलाक, 87 विन्न, 88 कृष्ण, 89 गालन्, 90 उल्ल, 91 तितिक्ष, 92 भिषज (भिषज्) 93 भिषज, 94 भदित, 95 भाण्डत, 96 वल्ग, 97 वेकित, 98 चिकित्सित, 99 देवह, 100 इन्द्रह, 101 एकल, 102 पिप्पल, 103 वृहस्पि, 104 सुलोहिन्, 105 सुलाभिन्, 106 उदय, 107 कुदिगु, 108 संहित, 109 पय, 110 कन्धु, 111 शुष, 112 कर्कटक, 113 रक्ष, 114 प्रचूल, 115 विलम्ब, 116 विष्णुज ॥

The word मधु is found in the लोहितदि sublist of this class. It ought to take ञ् after बह् in the feminine by IV. 1. 18, how then the form मानवी in मानवी प्रजा ? The affix बह् comes in denoting a Gotra offspring, but in denoting a descendant in general, this affix will not come, and hence no shpha also. If so, then why the immediate descendant of जमदग्नि is called जामदग्न्यः which is a Name of Parasúram the son of Jamadagni, or why Vyâsa the son of Parâsara is called पाण्डुर्यः ? These are exceptions formed by गोत्र रूपाध्यायेः i. e. by superimposing of Gotra-form on these. Their proper apatyâ forms are by कण्यञ् (IV. 1. 114) i. e. जामदग्नः and पाण्डुरः ॥

मधुवस्त्रोर्ग्राहणकौशिकयोः ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ मधु, वस्त्रोः, ग्राहण-कौशिकयोः (यञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मधुवस्त्राद्वस्त्रु ग्राहण गोत्रापत्ये बह् प्रत्ययो भवति यथासंख्यं ब्राह्मण कौशिके वाच्ये ॥

106. The affix यञ् comes, in the sense of a Gotra descendant, after the words मधु and वस्त्रु when the words so formed mean 'Brâhmana' and 'a Kausika' respectively.

Thus माधव्यः = ब्राह्मणः 'Brâhmana.' Otherwise माधवः "son of Madhu." वाधव्यः = कौशिकः Otherwise वाधवः ॥

The word वम् belongs to the Gargādi class, so it would have taken यञ् by the last sūtra also. The present sūtra declares a restriction, viz. वम् takes यञ् only then when कौशिक is denoted. Its being read in the Gargādi class serves another purpose: as it belongs to the sub-classes लोहितारि, the rule IV. 1. 18 becomes applicable to it; so that its feminine is formed by ण्क. Thus बाभ्रव्यायणी ॥ In fact, it would have been better, if in the body of the Gaṇapātha, instead of writing वम् alone, there was वम् कौशिके ॥ It would have saved the repetition of it in the present sūtra.

कपिवोधादाङ्गिरसे ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कपि, बोधात्, आङ्गिरसे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कपिवोधशब्दाभ्यामाङ्गिरसेऽपत्यविधेये गोत्रे वम् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

107. The affix 'यञ्' comes in the sense of a Gotra descendant, after the words कपि and बोध, when the special descendants of the family of Angiras are meant.

Thus कपि + वम् = काप्यः 'the grand-son or a still lower descendant of 'Kapi' of the family of Angiras.' So also बोधः ॥

Why do we say of the family of Angiras? Observe काप्यः (IV. 1. 122) "the gotra-descendant of Kapi" so also बोधिः formed by इम् because it is a Non-Rishi word or because it belongs to Bāhvādi (IV. 1. 96) class.

The word कपि occurs in Gargādi class. The present sūtra declares a restriction i. e. the 'yañ' is to be applied only when Angirasa descendant is meant. It is included in the Gargādi class also for the purpose of applying IV. 1. 18. Thus काप्यायनी "grand-daughter or a still lower descendant of Kapi."

वतण्डाच्च ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वतण्डात्, च, (गोत्रे, यञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आङ्गिरस इत्येव । वतण्डशब्दादाङ्गिरसेऽपत्यविधेये गोत्रे यञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

108. The affix 'यञ्' comes in the sense of a Gotra descendant, after the word 'वतण्ड,' when meaning a descendant of Angirasa.

Thus वतण्डः = आंगिरसः, otherwise वतण्डः ॥

The word वतण्ड occurs both in the Gargādi class (IV. 1. 105) and in the Sivādi class (IV. 1. 112). It would have taken both affixes अम् and अञ्. The present sūtra declares that when it means an Angirasa, then वतण्ड will not take अञ् of the सिवारि class: and when it does not mean Angirasa, then it takes both these affixes e. g. वतण्डः and वतण्डः any descendant of Vātaṇḍa.

लुक् स्त्रियाम् ॥ १०९ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आङ्गिरस इत्येव । वतण्डशब्दादाङ्गिरस्यां स्त्रियां यञ् प्रत्ययस्य लुग्भवति ॥

109. The affix 'यञ्' is luk-elided in the feminine after the word 'वतण्डी' when meaning a female descendant of Angirasa.

Thus from वतण्डः we get वतण्ड्य in the masculine. In the feminine the यम् is elided by luk, and we have वतण्ड्य + ङीच् (IV. 1. 73) = वतण्डी "a female descendant of Vataṇḍa of the clan Aṅgīrasa." Why do we say "of Aṅgīrasa?" Observe वतण्ड्यायनी formed with 'shpha' under lohītādi rule (V. 1. 18). When वतण्ड takes यञ् under Śivādi class, its feminine is वतण्डी ॥ Though the word is formed with यञ् yet in the feminine, there is not प्लव् substitution (IV. 1. 78), because Vataṇḍa is a Rishi-Name.

अभ्यादिभ्यः फञ् ॥ १० ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आङ्गिरस इति निवृत्तम् । अभ्यादिभ्यो गोत्रापत्ये फञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

110. The affix 'फञ्' comes, in the sense of a Gotra descendant, after the words अश्व &c.

The anuvṛtiti of Aṅgīrasa does not extend to this aphorism. Thus अश्व-फञ् = अश्व-आयन (VII. 1. 2) = आश्वायनः (VII. 2. 117) 'the grandson or a still lower descendant of Aśva'. Similarly आश्वमायनः There are some words in this class which already have taken a patronymic affix, e. g. आश्वेय, वैश्व, and आनङ्ग ॥ After these words the affix फञ् of course has the force of a Yuvan affix. The word आश्वेय is formed by अश्वि + इक् (IV. 1. 122), वैश्व = विशि (a Rajarshi)-+इक् (IV. 1. 171), and आनङ्ग = अनङ्ग + यञ् (IV. 1. 105). The word चक्ष takes फाञ् only when it denotes an Atreya, as छायायनः, otherwise छाक्षिः with इञ् or छाक्षः with यञ् ॥ The word जात takes 'फाञ्' only when the offspring of a male is to be denoted, as जातस्यापत्यं = जातायनः but जाताया अपत्यं = जातेयः with इक् ॥ The word आश्वेय takes 'फाञ्' when denoting a Bhāradvāja, as आश्वेयायनः, otherwise it will take the affix इञ्, which will be elided by II. 4. 28, leaving the form आश्वेयः ॥

The words भारद्वाज आश्वेये of the above list mean that when a person born in Atri Gotra is adopted by a person belonging to Bhāradvāja Gotra, then the affix is to be added, he of course is an Atreya but gets a new Gotra of Bhāradvāja. Thus भारद्वाजायनः, otherwise the form will be भारद्वाजः with यञ् of IV. 1. 104.

I अश्व 2 अश्वन् 3 श्व 4 श्वक 5 विह 6 पुट 7 रोहिण 8 खर्जूर (खजूर) 9 खण्डार 10 बल्ल 11 विज्ञ 12 मडिल 13 मण्डिल 14 भडित 15 मण्डित 16 प्रकृत 17 रामोद 18 क्षान्त 19 काश 20 तीक्ष्ण 21 गोलोक 22 भर्क 23 स्वर 24 स्फुट 25 चक्र 26 अविष्ट 27 पविष्ट 28 पविष्ट 29 गोमिन् 30 द्याय 31 धूम 32 धूम 33 वाग्मिन् 34 विश्वानर 35 कुट 36 छप आश्वेये 37 जन 38 अज 39 खड 40 दीप्य 41 भर्ह 42 कित 43 विद्युप 44 विद्याल 45 गिरि 46 चपल 47 चुप 48 शंसक 49 वैश्व 50 (वैश्व) 51 प्राण्य 52 धर्म्य 53 आनङ्ग 54 गुंति जाते 55 अर्जुन 56 प्रहृत 57 सुमनस् 58 नम 59

(मन्स्) ग्रान्त 60 धन 61 आचेष भरहात्रे 62 भरहात्र आचेषे 63 उत्स 64 आतव 65 कितव 66 वर
67 धन्व 68 पार 69 शिव 70 खरि 71 मण्डक 72 श्रीवा 73 कुल 74 काज 75 नड 76
वीर्य, 77 वर, 78 खेड, 79 नत्त 80 मोजस, 81 नन ॥

भर्गात्त्रैगर्ते ॥ १११ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भर्गद्यन्तपत्ये विद्येदे वैगर्ते गोत्रे कश्च प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

111. The affix 'कश्च' comes in the sense of a Gotra descendant, after the word भर्ग, when the meaning is a Traigarta.

Thus भर्गाद्यन्तः = वैगर्तः ; otherwise भार्गिः (IV. 1. 95).

शिवादिभ्योण् ॥ ११२ ॥ पदानि ॥ शिव-मादिभ्यः, अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोत्र इति निवृण्व । अतः प्रभृति सामान्येन प्रत्यया विज्ञावन्ते । शिवादिभ्योऽपत्येऽण् प्रत्य-
यो भवति ॥

112. The affix अण् comes in the sense of a descen-
dant, after the words शिव &c.

The anuvṛitti of the word गोत्रे (IV. 1. 98) does not extend to this sūtra. The affixes taught hereafter are generic patronymic affixes. The affix अण् debarbs इम् &c, Thus शिव-अण् = शैवः 'a descendant of Śiva'. Similarly श्रीः ॥

The word तक्षन् 'a carpenter' occurs in this class; being a common noun denoting an artisan, it would have taken the affix इम् by IV. 1, 153; the present sūtra prevents that. It does not, however, prevent the application of ण्य ordained by IV. 1. 152. Thus तक्षन्-अण् = तक्षणः ॥ तक्षन्-ण्य = तक्षण्यः ॥ The अ is elided by VI. 4. 134. The word गंगा occurs in this class, as well as in Subhrādi class IV, 1. 123) and Tikādi (IV. 1. 154). There are thus three forms of this word :—गाङ्गः ; गाङ्गायनिः and गाङ्गेदः ॥ The word विपाद्या occurs in this class as well as in Kuñjādi class (IV. 1. 98) It has thus two forms : विपाद्यः and विपाद्यायन्यः with chphañ.

The affix अण् will come after a word consisting of two syllables, when it is the name of a river: the affix इक् (IV. 1. 121) would have debarred the तन्नामिक अण् of (IV. 1. 113) in case of patronymics formed from river names. However, it is not so, because of this prohibition. The Patronymic from the river name विवेणी would be formed by अण् (IV. 1. 113), as विवेणः ; but this is replaced by विवणः ॥

1 शिव 2 श्रोष्ठ 3 श्रोष्ठिक 4 चण्ड 5 अम्भ 6 भूरि 7 इण्ड 8 कुठार 9 कक्षु (कक्षुभा) 10 भन-
मिल्लान 11 कोहित 12 सुख 13 संधि 14 मुनि 15 ककुत्थ 16 कहोड 17 कोहड 18 कह्य 19 कहव
20 रोध 21 कर्पिजल (कुपिजल) 22 खंजन 23 वतण्ड 24 हणकण 25 खरिह 26 अलह 27 परिल

28 पारिक 29 पिह 30 हेह 31 पारिका 32 गोपिका 33 कपिलिका 34 अटिलिका 35 बधिरिका 36 मञ्जीरक 37 38 मञ्जारक 39 वृष्णिक 40 खञ्जार 41 खञ्जात 42 कर्मार 43 रेख 44 लेख 45 मानेख 46 लिम्बखण 47 खण 48 वर्तनास 49 मीनास 50 विदप 51 विदक 52 विदाक 53 तक्षाक 54 ममाक 55 कर्णनाम 56 अरत्काह 57 पृथा 58 उत्प्रेष 59 पुणेहितिका 60 सुणेहितिका 61 सुणेहिका 62 आर्ध-
भेत (अर्धभेत) 63 सुविह 64 मसुरकर्ण 65 मयूरकर्ण 66 खर्जूरकर्ण 67 खर्जूरक 68 तक्षन् 69 कटिखणे 70 गंगा 71 विषाद्य 72 बत्क 73 लह्य 74 हुह्य 75 अयःस्थुत 76 तृणकर्ण (तृण कर्ण) 77 वर्ष 78 मल-
न्धन 73 विरुपाक्ष 80 भूमि 81 ह्य 82 उपल्ली 83 ह्यचो मयाः 84 विवेणी विवर्ण च ॥ 85 गोपिलिक, 86 ऐहितिक, 87 कदोष, 88 गोमिलिक, 89 राजल, 90 तराक, 91 बराक, 92 परत ॥ It is an आकृतिगण ॥

अवृद्धाभ्यो नदीमानुषीभ्यस्तन्नामिकाभ्यः ॥ ११६ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शब्दोऽस्याच्चाभास्ति. इ. दम् । अवृद्धाभ्यः इति छन्दधर्मः । नदीमानुषीभ्य इत्यर्थधर्म, स्तेनाभेदा-
प्यकृतयो निर्विद्यन्ते । तन्नामिकाभ्य इति सर्वनामा प्रत्ययप्रकृतेः प्रत्ययवर्धः । अवृद्धानि यानि नदीनां
मानुषीणां च नामधेयानि तेषां उपत्येऽण् प्रत्यये भवति । इको उपचारः ॥

113. The affix अण् comes, in the sense of a des-
cendant, after words which are the names of rivers, or women,
when such words are not Vriddham words; and when they
are used as names and not as adjectives.

The word Vriddham in the sūtra, does not mean the technical Pat-
ronymic of that name as defined in other Grammars and used in Sūtras like
IV. 1. 166, but means the Vriddham as defined in this Grammar i. e. a word
whose first syllable is a Vriddhi letter (I. 1. 73). The word अवृद्धाभ्यः shows the
orthography of the word to which the affix is to be added. The word नदी-
मानुषीभ्यः declares the *meaning* of that word and both attributes refer to one
and the same base, i. e. orthographically the base should have a Vriddhi letter
in the first syllable, and etymologically it should denote a man or a river.
The word तन्नामिकाभ्यः applies both to the base and the affix.

Thus यमुना—यामुनः 'a son of the Yamunā.' ऐरावत 'son of the Irāvati.'
वितस्तः 'son of the Vitastā.' नर्मदः 'son of the Narmaddā.' These are all *names*
of rivers. Similarly शिक्षितः 'son of Śikshitā' चैन्तित 'son of चिन्तित' ॥

Why do we say 'when not a Vriddha word'? Observe चान्नभागाया
अपत्यं = चान्नभागेयः; so also वासवदत्तेयः formed by इक् (IV. 1. 120). Why do we say
being 'names of rivers or women.' Observe सौपर्णेयः and वैनतेयः ॥ Why do we
say "when it is a name?" Observe शोभनाया अपत्यं = शोभनेयः 'the son of a beautiful
woman.'

इक् (IV. 1. 120) is the general affix by which patronymics are formed
from feminine bases. The present sūtra is an exception to that.

अण्यन्धकवृष्णिकुरुभ्यश्च ॥ ११४ ॥ अण्वि, अन्धक, वृष्णि, कुरुभ्यः च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋषयः प्रसिद्धा वसिष्ठादयः । अन्धका वृष्णवः कुरु इति वंशाख्या । ऋष्यादिकुर्वन्तेभ्यः प्राति-
परिकेभ्यो उपत्येऽणप्रत्ययो भवती, प्रोऽपन्नाहः ।

114. The affix अण् comes, in the sense of a descendant, after a Nominal-stem denoting the name of a Rishi, or the name of a person of the family of Andhaka, Vrishni, and Kuru.

This debars the affix इम् ॥ The Rishis are like Vasishṭha, Viśvamiṭra &c. Thus वासिष्ठः, वैश्वामित्रः ॥ So also आहवन्तः, एतद्वत्तः being persons belonging to the family of Andhaka ; and वासुदेवः, आनुरुद्धः being persons belonging to the family of Vṛishṇi, and नकुलः, साहदेवः being persons belonging to the family of Kuru.

The word आदि is the name of a Rishi, in forming its Patronymic, the present sūtra enjoins अण् ; but IV. 1. 122 enjoins इक् ; thus there being a conflict, we apply the maxim of interpretation contained in I. 4. 2. So that the Patronymic of आदि will be formed not by अण् but by इक् ॥ Thus आदिवः ॥ Similarly उग्रसेनः a person of Andhaka family, forms its patronymic औग्रसेन्यः IV. 1. 152 by ण्य ; and not by अण्, so also वैश्वकसेन्यः 'son of Vaishvaksena' a person of Vṛishṇi, family ; so also भिमसेन्यः 'son of Bhimasena' a person of Kuru family.

Note.—The words or sabdās are eternal ; how is it then that rules applying to them should be made dependant upon their occurring in particular families or not, when families themselves are non-eternal ? In other word, how a rule affecting a permanent object is conditioned by an impermanent adjunct ? To this, some reply that Pāṇini has by mere coincidence (and not as cause and effect) classified certain definite number of words as belonging to certain families, and then the rule made applicable to them. Moreover a permanent object is sometimes designated by an impermanent object : as the permanent time is designated by the name of Saka. Others say that the families of Andhaka &c., are also permanent, and the words 'Nakula' 'Sahadeva' &c., found therein are, of course, permanent.

मातुस्तस्य्यासंभद्रपूर्वायाः ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥ मातुः, उत्तः, संख्या, सम्, भद्र, पूर्वायाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मातृशब्दात्संख्यापूर्वात्संभद्राद्भद्रपूर्वायापत्ये ऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति, उकारश्चान्तरेशः ।

115. The affix अण् comes in the sense of a descendant, after the word mātṛi when it is preceded by a Numeral, or by the words सम् or भद्र; and the letter उ is substituted for the final ऋ of mātṛi.

Thus from द्विमातृ we have द्विमातुरः "son of two mothers i. e. son of one and adopted by another." द्विमातृ + अण् = द्विमातृ + उ + भ = द्विमातृ + उ + १ + भ (I. 1. 51.) Similarly पाण्मातुरः, सांमातुरः, and आह्वमातुरः ॥

This sūtra is made in order to teach the substitution of short उ for the

कृ of मातृ; for the word मातृ would have taken the affix अण् by the general rule IV. 1. 83. The sūtra contains the word पूर्वायाः in the feminine gender, showing by implication that the rule applies where the word मातृ denotes female. Thus संनिशेते = संमातृ 'he who measures together'. Its patronymic will be संमात्रः 'son of a fellow-measurer'; because here the word मातृ does not mean 'mother', but a 'measure'. Nor the word धान्यमातृ 'barley measurer' will be affected by this rule. Why do we say "when preceded by a Numeral &c." Observe सोमात्रः 'son of Sumātri'. The word देमात्रेवः is formed by IV. 1. 123 as belonging to Śubhrādi class.

कन्यायाः कनीन च ॥ ११६ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कन्याशब्दादपत्येऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति इकोपवाहः । तत्सन्निधौगेन कनीनशब्दमादेशो भवति ॥

116. The affix अण् comes in the sense of a descendant, after the word कन्या, and when this affix is added, कनीन is the substitute of 'Kanyâ'.

Thus कन्याया अपत्यं = कनीनः 'the son of a virgin' viz Karṇa or Vyasa'. This debars the कृ of IV. 1. 121. The word कन्या means a virgin, the son of a virgin is produced by immaculate conception. मुनिदेवतामाहात्म्याद् वा पुण्येनेऽपि न कन्यात्वं जहाति, यया कुन्ती, यया सत्यवती ॥

विकर्ण, शुङ्ग, छगलाद्वत्सभरद्वाजात्रिषु ॥ ११७ ॥ पदानि ॥ विकर्ण, शुङ्ग, छगलात्, वत्स, भरद्वाज, अत्रिषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विकर्णशुङ्गछगलशब्देभ्यो यथासंख्यं वत्सभरद्वाजात्रिष्वपत्यविशेषेण्यण्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

117. The affix अण् comes after the words विकर्ण, शुङ्ग, and छगल, when the sense is a descendant of the family of Vatsa, Bharadvāja and Atri respectively.

Thus विकर्णः = वात्सः otherwise वैकर्णिः ॥ शौद्रः = भारद्वाजः, otherwise शौद्रिः ॥ छागलः = आत्रेयः, otherwise छागलिः ॥

In some texts the word शुंग is used and not शुङ्ग ॥ The former being a feminine word, its Patronymic will be शौद्रेयः, by IV. 1. 120 when it does not mean a descendant of भरद्वाजः ॥

पीलाया वा ॥ ११८ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पीलाया अपत्ये वाण् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

118. The affix अण् comes optionally after the word पीला in denoting a descendant.

The word पीला being the name of a female would have taken अण् by

IV. 1. 113; but this अण् would have been prohibited by IV. 1. 121 as it is a dissyllabic feminine word. Hence the necessity of the present sūtra. Thus पेलः or पेलेकः 'son of Pila.'

ढक् च मण्डूकाल् ॥ ११९ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मण्डूकशब्दादपत्ये ङक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

119. The affix ङक् comes optionally in the sense of a descendant after the word मण्डूक as well as the affix अण् ॥

Thus we get three forms, मण्डूक + ङक् = मांडूकेयः; मंडूक + अण् = माण्डूकः; मण्डूक + इम् = माण्डुकिः ॥

स्त्रीभ्यो ङक् ॥ १२० ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्त्रीप्रत्ययेन दाबादिप्रत्ययान्ताः शब्दा गृह्यन्ते । स्त्रीभ्योऽपत्ये ङक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वडवाया वृषे वाच्ये ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अण् कुञ्चाकौकिलात्समुक्तः ॥

120. Words ending in the feminine affixes take the affix ङक् in forming their Patronymic.

The word स्त्री in the aphorism means 'words ending in the feminine affixes दाप् &c.' That is, words ending in long आ and ई of the feminine. Thus विनता + ङक् = वेनतेयः (IV. 1. 2). So also सौपर्णेयः "Son of Vinatā or Suparṇī". But ऐदविडः and शरदः formed by अण् meaning sons of इदविड and शरद, for though these words are feminine, they do not *end in feminine affixes*.

Vart.:—The affix ङक् comes after वडवा when meaning वृष ॥ Thus वाडवेयः = वृषः "bull." Here 'ḍhak' has not the patronymic force. The patronymic will be वाडवः 'the son of a mare.'

Vart.:—The feminine words कुञ्चा and कौकिला take the affix अण् in forming the patronymic. Thus क्रौञ्चः "the son of a curlew." कौकिलाः "the son of a cuckoo."

द्वयचः ॥ १२१ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वि-अचः (स्त्रीभ्यां ङक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वयचः स्त्रीप्रत्ययान्तादपत्ये ङक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

121. The affix 'ढक्' comes in the sense of a descendant, after a word ending in a feminine affix and consisting of two vowels.

Thus दत्ताया अपत्यं = दातेयः 'son of Dattā', गोपेयः "son of Gopī". This debars the अण् of IV. 1. 113.

Why do we say 'having two vowels'? Observe यामुनः 'son of यमुना', which is a trisyllabic word, and not dissyllabic.

इतश्चानिजः ॥ १२१ ॥ पदानि ॥ इतः, च, अन्, इजः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चकारो द्वयच इत्यस्यानुकर्षार्थः । इकारान्ताभ्यामिपदिकारमिप्रत्ययान्तादपत्ये ङक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

122. The affix 'इक्' comes, in the sense of a descendant, after a dissyllabic Nominal-stem ending in short इ, but not, however, after a word ending in the patronymic affix इम् ॥

The anuvṛtti of 'stri' does not extend to this aphorism. The force of the word च in the sūtra is to draw the anuvṛtti of the word इक् of the last sūtra. Thus अत्रिचः 'the son of Atri'. त्रिपथः 'the son of त्रिपथः' ।

Why do we say "after a word ending in short इ"? Observe शक्तिः "son of शक्त" ॥ Here शक्त though a dissyllabic word, yet ends in अ ॥

Why do we say 'not ending in the patronymic affix इम्'? Observe शाक्यायनः 'son of शक्ति' ॥ Here though शक्ति is a dissyllabic word ending in short इ, it does not take the affix इक् for इ here is the affix इम् (IV. 1. 95.); so also व्यासायनः ॥ Why do we say 'having two vowels'? Observe मारीचः "son of मरीचिः"

शुभ्रादिभ्यश्चः ॥ १२३ ॥ पदानि ॥ शुभ्र-आदिभ्यः, च (इक्)

वृत्तिः ॥ शुभ्र इत्येवमादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो इक् प्रत्ययो भवति ।

123. The affix 'इक्' comes in the sense of a descendant after the stems शुभ्र &c.

This debars इम् and other affixes. The word च in the sūtra shows that some words not occurring in the list of शुभ्रादि may take the इक्, as it is an आकृत्यतिगणः ॥ For though the words गंगा, पांडव are not in the list, we find still forms like गांगेयः, पाण्डवेयः &c.

Thus शुभ्रस्यापत्यं = शोभेयः ॥

1 शुभ्र, 2 विष्ट पुर (विष्टपुर) 3 ब्रह्मकृत, 4 शतद्वार, 5 शालायल, (शालायल) 6 शालाकाश, 7 लेखाशु, (लेखाशु), 8 विकसा, (विकास), 9 रोहिणी, 10 रुक्मिणी, 11 धर्मिणी, 12 दिष्ट, 13 शालूक, 14 भजवस्ति, 15 शर्काधि, 16 विमान, 17 विपदा, 18 शुक्र, 19 विश, 20 वेदतर 21 शकुनि, 22 शुक्र, 23 उभ, 24 ज्ञातल (ज्ञातल) 25 बन्धकी, 26 सूकण्डु, 27 त्रिभि, 28 भक्तिभि, 29 गोदन्त, 30 कुशाम्ब, 31 मकण्डु, 32 शातावर, 33 पवष्टुरिक, 34 सुनामन्, 35 लक्ष्मणश्यामयोर्वारिष्ठ । 36 गोधा, 37 कृकलास, 38 भनीच, 39 प्रवाहन, 40 भरत (भारत) 41 भरम, 42 सूकण्डु, 43 कर्पूर, 44 इतर, 45 अन्यतर, 46 भालीड, 47 सुदन्त, 48 सुदभ, 49 सुवभस्, 50 सुशमन्, 51 कटु, 52 तुद, 53 भकशाय, 54 कुमारिका, 55 कुशारिका, 56 किशोरिका, 57 भम्बिका, 58 जिह्माशान, 59 परिधि, 60 वायुदन्त, 61 शकल, 62 शालाका, 63 खड्ग, 64 कुवेरिका, 65 भगोका, 66 गन्धपिङ्गला, 67 खडोन्मगा, 68 अनुदष्टिन्, (अनुदष्टि) 69 जरातिन्, 70 गलीर्वारिन्, 71 विम, 72 बीज, 73 जीव, 74 भन्, 75 भदमन्, 76 अभ, 77 भजिर 78 शातावर, 79 शालाका, 80 कृकसा, 81 भरत, 82 मण्डु, 83 ककल, 84 स्थूल, 85 मकयु, 86 वमडु, 87 कटु, 88 सूकण्ड, 89 गुह, 90 रुद, 91 कुशेरिका, 92 शकल, 93 भजिन ॥

विकर्णकुपीतकात्काश्यपे ॥ १२४ ॥ पदानि ॥ विकर्ण, कुपीतकात् काश्यपे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विकर्णशब्दस्तत्कुपीतकशब्दश्च काश्यपेऽपत्यविशेषे इक् प्रत्ययो भवति ।

124. The affix ङ्क् comes after the words 'Vi-karna' and 'Kushita', when they mean the descendants of Kâsyapa.

Thus वैकर्णेयः and कौशीतकेयः = काश्यपः; otherwise we have वैकर्णिः and कौशीतकिः formed by IV. 1. 95.

सुवो बुक् च ॥ १२५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुवः, बुक्, च (ढक्)
वृत्तिः ॥ सुवस्यास्येढक् प्रत्ययो भवति, तत्सन्नियोगेन च बुगागमः ।

125. The affix 'ढक्' comes in the sense of a descendant, after the word सू and the augment बुक् is added when this affix is to be applied.

Thus सू + ङ्क् = सु + बुक् + ङ्क् (I. 1. 46) = सुव् + ङ्क् = धैवेयः (VII. 1. 2)
कल्याण्यादीनामिन्ङ् ॥ १२६ ॥ पदानि ॥ कल्याणी-आदीनाम्, इन्ङ् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ कल्याणी इत्येवमासीनां घञ्ञानामपत्ये ङ्क् प्रत्ययो भवति, तत्सन्नियोगेन च इन्ङादेशः ॥

126. The affix 'ढक्' comes in the sense of a descendant, after the words कल्याणी &c. and the substitute इन्ङ् takes the place of the final of these words before this affix.

In the case of those words in this list which end in a feminine affix, the present sūtra teaches merely the substitution of इन्ङ्, for they would have taken the affix ङ्क् by IV. 1. 120. But in the case of other words, the Sūtra teaches both the substitution of इन्ङ् and the addition of ङ्क् ।

Thus कल्याणी + ङ्क् = कल्याणिन् + ङ्क् = कल्याणिन्यः 'son of Kalyāṇī.' सुभगा + ङ्क् = सुभागन् + ङ्क् = सोभागिन्यः ॥ Similarly दौर्भागिन्यः ॥ In these last two words, there is Vṛiddhi of both the initial vowel उ and the second vowel अ of न. This is done by the special rule VII. 3. 19.

1 कल्याणी, 2 सुभगा, 3 दुर्मगा, 4 बन्धकी, 5 अनुग्रहि, 6 अनुमृति (अनुमृष्टि) 7 अरती, 8 बलीवर्षी, 9 ज्येष्ठा, 10 कनिष्ठा, 11 मध्या, 12 परस्त्री ॥

कुलदाया वा ॥ १२७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुलदायाः, वा (ढक्)
वृत्तिः ॥ कुलदाया अपत्येढक् प्रत्ययो भवति, तत्सन्नियोगेन च वा इन्ङादेशो भवति । आदेशार्थे वचनं प्रत्ययः पुंल्लिङ् सिद्धः ।

127. The affix 'ढक्' comes in the sense of a descendant, after the word कुलदा, and इन्ङ् is optionally the substitute of the final before this affix.

The word कुलदा means literally one who wanders (भ्रमति) from one family (कुल) to another, i. e. an unchaste woman. This sūtra is made to teach substitution only, for कुलदा would have taken ङ्क् by the general rule IV. 1. 120. Thus कुलदा + ङ्क् = कुलदिन् + ङ्क् = कौलदिन्यः or कौलेयः 'son of an unchaste woman.' This word कुलदा being a word denoting contempt, will take also the affix ङ्क् by IV. 1. 131. Thus कौलेयः ॥

चटकाया ऐरक् ॥ १२८ ॥ पदानि ॥ चटकायाः, ऐरक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चटकाया अपत्ये ऐरक् प्रत्ययो भवति । वार्त्तिकम् ॥ चटकावेति वक्तव्यम् । वार्त्तिकम् ॥ चि-
दापत्ये लुक्प्रत्ययः ॥

128. The word चटका takes the affix ऐरक् in forming the patronymic.

Thus चाटकैः 'son of Chaṭaka'.

Vart:—So also after the masculine word चटक् ॥ Thus चाटकैः 'son of Chaṭaka'.

Vart:—In forming a descendant denoting a female, there is luk-elision of the affix. Thus the female descendant of चटका will be चटका, the ट् being added as belonging to Ajādi class IV. 1. 4.

गोधाया द्रक् ॥ १२९ ॥ पदानि ॥ गोधायाः, द्रक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोधाया अपत्ये द्रक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

129. The affix 'द्रक्' comes in the sense of a descendant after the word गोधा ॥

Thus गोधा + द्रक् = गोधैः ॥ Of the affix 'ḍhrak', the letter ह् is replaced by एच् (VII. 1. 2), क् causes Vṛiddhi (VII. 2. 118) and makes the udātta accent fall on the final (IV. 1. 165). Thus the real affix is एष्ट्, but the ष् is elided by VI. 1. 66 and so the affix that is actually added is एर ॥

This word गोधा occurs in the Śubhrādi class IV. 1. 123, also, thus it takes the affix 'ḍhak' as well. Thus गोधैः ॥

आरगुदीचाम् ॥ १६० ॥ पदानि ॥ आरक्, उदीचाम् (गोधायाः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोधाया अपत्ये उदीचामाचार्याणां मतेन आरक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

130. The affix 'आरक्', comes in the sense of a descendant after the word 'गोधा,' according to the opinion of Northern Grammarians.

Thus गोधाः ॥ It might be objected that the आरक् contains the letter आ unnecessarily, for र्क् would have served the purpose as well, because गोधा ends in long आ already. The objection is valid in the case of गोधा, but the very fact that Pāṇini uses this affix आरक्, shows by implication, that there are other words also which take this affix, and in whose case the affix र्क् would not suffice. Thus the words अड and एण्ड also take this affix, as आडाः, एण्डाः ॥ The mention of the name of Northern Grammarians is for the sake of showing respect only.

धुद्राभ्यो वा ॥ १३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ धुद्राभ्यः, वा (द्रक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शुद्धा भङ्गहीना धर्महीनाश्च । अयं धर्मेण तदभिधायन्यः स्त्रीलिङ्गाः प्रकृतयो निर्दिश्यन्ते । शुद्धाभ्यो वापत्ये इक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

131. The affix 'इक्' comes optionally, in the sense of a descendant, after the feminine words denoting mean objects.

The anuvṛtiti of इक् is to be read in this sūtra, and not of भाक्, though the latter immediately precedes it. The word शुद्धा means those who are defective or wanting in any bodily limb or organ, or who are low in social status and religious principles. This sūtra debars इक् which would come in the other alternative. Thus काणेरः 'the son of an one eyed woman', or काणेशः, शस्तेरः or शस्तेयः 'son of a female-slave'.

पितृष्वसुहृण् ॥ १३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पितृष्वसुः, हृण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पितृष्वसुहृण्प्रत्यये ण्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

132. The affix 'हृण्' comes in the sense of a descendant, after the word 'पितृ-ष्वसु'.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus पितृष्वसु + हृण् = पितृष्वसुहृणः 'the son of the father's sister'. The हृ of the affix is replaced by ईव ॥

ढकि लोपः ॥ १३३ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पितृष्वसुहृण्प्रत्यये ढकि परतो लोप भवति ॥

133. The final vowel of 'पितृ-ष्वसु' is elided when the affix 'ढक्', in the sense of a descendant, is added.

Thus पितृष्वसु + ढक् = पितृष्वसुहृणः ॥ This sūtra indicates by jñāpaka that the word पितृष्वसु takes the affix 'ḍhak' also.

मातृष्वसुश्च ॥ १३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ मातृष्वसुः, च (हृण्, ढकि लोपः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पितृष्वसुरित्येतद्वेक्षते, पितृष्वसुर्यदुक्तं तन्मातृष्वसुषि भवति । हृण्प्रत्ययो ढकि लोपश्च ॥

134. So also, after the word 'मातृष्वसु' the affix 'हृण्' is added, and the final is elided when 'ढक्' follows, in forming patronymics.

The Sūtras IV. 1. 132, 133 above apply to मातृष्वसु also. As मातृष्वसुहृणः or मातृष्वसुहृणः 'the son of a mother's sister'.

चतुष्पादो ढश्च ॥ १३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ चतुष्-पादभ्यः, ढश्च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चतुष्पादभिधायिनीभ्यः प्रकृतिभ्योऽपत्ये ढश्चप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

135. The affix 'ढश्च' comes in the sense of a descendant, after the bases denoting quadrupeds.

This debars अण् &c. Thus कम्पण्डलु + ढश्च = कम्पण्डलेयः (IV. 4. 147, the ड being elided before ढ). So also घृतिबोहये and जाम्बयः from घृतिबाहु and जम्बु ॥

गृष्ट्यादिभ्यश्च ॥ १३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ गृष्टि-आदिभ्यः, च (दञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गृष्ट्यादिभ्यः षष्ठेऽधोपत्ये इम्प्रत्ययो भवति ।

136. The affix 'दञ्' comes, in the sense of a descendant, after the words 'गृष्टि' &c.

This debars अण् and इक् &c. Thus गार्द्वेयः; हार्द्वेयः ॥ The word गृष्टि when it means 'a cow' will of course get the affix इम् by the last Sûtra. The present sûtra applies when it does not mean a four-footed animal, but means 'a woman who has one child only'.

1 गृष्टि, 2 इष्टि, 3 बलि, 4 इति, 5 विप्रि, 6 कुत्रि, 7 भञ्जवस्ति, 8 निषडु ।

राजभ्वशुराद्यत् ॥ १३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ राज-भ्वशुरात्, यत् ॥

वृत्तिः राजन्भ्वशुराद्यभ्यामपत्ये यत्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

137. The affix यत् comes in the sense of the descendant, after the words 'राजन्' and 'भ्वशुर'.

This debars अण् and भञ् respectively. Thus राजन्वः (IV. 4. 168) 'a person of Kshatriya class'. This is the special meaning of the word; it does not mean 'the son of a Rāja.' The word राजन्ः will mean 'the son of a King.' So also भ्वशुर्यः 'son of the father-in-law.'

क्षत्रादघः ॥ १३८ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्षत्रादघादपत्ये घः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

138. The affix 'gha' comes, in the sense of a descendant, after the word 'Kshattra'.

Thus क्षत्रियः 'a Kshatriya.' This is also a class name. The son of क्षत्र will be क्षत्रिः ॥ The affix घ here should not be confounded with the technical घ which means the affixes तत् and तमप् (I. 1. 22).

कुलात्सः ॥ १३९ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुलघाट्यान्तान् मातिपदिकात्केवलाद्यापत्ये सः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

139. The affix 'kha' comes, in the sense of a descendant, after the Nominal-stem 'kula' and a compound word that ends in 'kula.'

In the next sûtra, it will be taught that the word कुल when not preceded by any other word, takes the affixes 'yat' and 'ḍhakañ.' That indicates by implication that the present sûtra applies to the simple word कुल and to the words ending in कुल also. Thus कुलीनः, भार्यकुलीनः, श्रेयिकुलीनः ॥

अपूर्वपदान्यतरस्यां यङ्ढकञौ ॥ १४० ॥ पदानि ॥ अपूर्वपदान्. अन्यतरस्यां. यत्, ढकञौ ॥

वशिः ॥ अत्रियमानं पूर्वपदं यस्य तत्पूर्वपदं, समाससंबन्धिनः पूर्वपदस्याभावेन कुलशब्दो विशेष्यते । अपूर्वपदात्कुलशब्दादप्यतरस्यां यन् ढकञ् इत्येतौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः । ताभ्यां युक्ते खोपि भवति ॥

140. The affixes 'यत्' and 'ढकञ्' come optionally after the word 'kula,' when it is not preceded by any other word which gets the designation of pada (I. 4. 14).

The word अपूर्वपद means when the word 'kula' is not the last member of a compound. Thus कुल्यः, कौलेयकः ॥ By the use of the word 'optionally,' we get the affix ख also. Thus कुलीनः ॥ The word कुल्यः has udatta on the first syllable (VI. 1. 213).

The word पद has been defined in I. 4. 14. The word बहु is not a pada. Therefore बहुकुल will take these affixes. Thus बहुकुल्यः, बाहुकुलेयकः and बाहुकुलीनः ॥

महाकुलादश् खञौ ॥ १४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ महा-कुलात्, अश्, खञौ, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्यतरस्यामित्युनवर्तते । पक्षे खः ।

141. The affixes 'अञ्' and 'खञ्' come optionally after the word 'mahâkula.'

Thus माहाकुलः, माहाकुलीनः and महाकुलीनः ॥ The last is formed by the affix ख of IV. 1. 139.

दुष्कुलाद्ढक् ॥ १४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ दुष्कुलात्, ढक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दुष्कुलशब्दादपत्ये ढक् प्रत्ययो भवति ।

142. The affix 'ढक्' comes optionally, in the sense of a descendant, after the word 'dushkala.'

Thus दौष्कुलेयः ॥ By the force of the word 'optionally' we get ख also. Thus दुष्कुलीनः ॥

स्वसुश्छः ॥ १४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वसुः, छः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वसृशब्दादपत्ये छः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

143. The affix 'chha' comes in the sense of the descendant, after the word स्वसृ ॥

This debars अञ् ॥ Thus स्वसृशब्दः 'the sister's son.'

भ्रातुर्व्यञ्च ॥ १४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ भ्रातुः, व्यञ्च, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भ्रातृशब्दादपत्ये व्यञ्च प्रत्ययो भवति । चकारपञ्चम ॥

144. The affix 'vyat' also comes, in the sense of a descendant, after the word 'भ्रातृ' ॥

By the force of the word च in the sūtra, we get the affix छ as well.

This debars अच् ॥ Thus भ्रातृव्यः or भ्रात्रीव्यः 'the brother's son'. The त् of व्यच् regulates the accent, making it svarita.

व्यन्सपत्ने ॥ १४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ व्यन्, सपत्ने (भ्रातुः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भ्रातृव्यस्य व्यन्प्रत्ययेन भवति सपत्न्यायेन चैवमिषः सपत्न उच्यते ॥

145. The affix 'vyan' comes after the word 'भ्रातृ' when the sense is that of 'an enemy'.

The word सपत्न means 'enemy'. The sense of descendant is not connoted by this affix. The difference between व्यन् and व्यन् is in accent (VI. 1. 185 and VI. 1. 197). Thus पाप्मना भ्रातृव्येण "by the sinful enemy". भ्रातृव्यः कण्टकः "the enemy is a thorn".

रेवत्यादिभ्यश्च ॥ १४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ रेवती-आदिभ्यः, ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रेवतीत्येवमादिभ्योऽपत्ये ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

146. The affix 'ठक्' comes, in the sense of a descendant, after the words रेवती &c.

This of course debars ठक् &c. Thus रेवती + ठक् = रेवतिकः 'the son of Revati'. So also आम्बपालिकः (VII. 3. 50)

1 रेवती, 2 अम्बपाली, 3 मणिपाली, 4 हारपाली, 5 वृकशम्भिन, 6 वृकबन्धु, 7 वृकमाह, 8 कर्णमाह, 9 हण्डमाह, 10 कुक्कूदास, 11 (ककुदास) 12 चागरमाह,

गोत्रस्त्रियाः कुत्सने ण च ॥ १४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ गोत्रस्त्रियाः कुत्सने, ण, च (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपत्यं पौत्रप्रभृति गोत्रं गृह्यते । गोत्रं या स्त्री तदभिभाषिणः सन्माहपत्ये णः प्रत्ययो भवति ; चकाराद्ठक्, कुत्सने गम्यमाने । पितृसन्निधाने मात्रा व्यपदेशोपपत्त्यस्य कुत्सा ॥

147. And when contempt is to be expressed, the affix ण comes, in the sense of a descendant, after a feminine word denoting a Gotra-descendant.

By the force of the word च in the sūtra we get the affix ठक् also. When one's father is not known, and he is called by a name derived from his mother, it casts a slur upon his legitimacy ; hence such an epithet is a कुत्सा or 'a defamatory or contemptuous epithet'. Thus गार्गी is a female gotra-descendant. Her son will be called गार्गः, as गार्गः ज्ञातः ॥ So also गार्गिकः ॥ Similarly the son of ग्लौघुकायनी will be ग्लौघुकायनः and ग्लौघुकायनिकः ॥

This affix being added to a Gotra word has the force of a Yuvan affix,

Why do we say 'a Gotra descendant'. Observe कारिकेयो ज्ञातः (formed by ठक् IV. 1. 120). Why do we say 'female descendant? Observe औपगदि ज्ञातः ॥ Why do we say 'when contempt is meant'? Observe गार्गेयो मातृव्यः which is to be explained as गार्ग्यो अपत्यं पुमान् युवा भवति ॥ मानान्हादेरुपलक्षणार्थोऽयं प्रयोग इति नास्ति कुत्सा ॥

वृद्धादठ्कसौवीरेषु बहुलम् ॥ १४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृद्धात्, ठक्, सौवीरेषु, बहुलम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वृद्धात्सौवीरगोत्रादपत्ये बहुलं ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति कुत्सने गन्धमाने ॥

Kārikā भागपूर्वपदो विंशतिर्द्वितीयस्तार्णबिन्दवः ॥

द्वितीयस्त्वाकघापेयो गोत्राद्वहुलं ततः ॥

148. When contempt is to be expressed, the affix 'ठक्' is diversely added in the sense of a descendant after a Vriddha word denoting Sauvīra Gotras.

Thus भागविचिकः 'the son of Bhāgavitti'. So also तार्णबिन्दविकः formed from कृणबिन्दु + अण् (IV. 1. 83) तार्णबिन्दवः, and then adding ठक् ॥ In the alternative we have the affix कक् (IV. 1. 101) as भागविज्ञायनः, so also तार्णबिन्दविः ॥ The word अकघाप belongs to Subhrādi class IV. 1. 123: and forms आकघापेयः, his son will be आकघापेयिकः or आकघापेयिः ॥ Of course, when contempt is not expressed, we have भागविज्ञायनः only.

The operation of this sūtra is, in fact, confined to the three words भागवित्ति, तार्णबिन्दव, and आकघापेय as given in the kārikā.

Q. What is the necessity of using the word 'Vriddha' in the sūtra, for the anuvṛtti of the word 'gotra' is understood in the sūtra, and a Sauvīra class Nominal-stem formed with a Gotra affix will necessarily have a Vriddhi letter in its first syllable? The word Vriddha is employed in the sūtra to stop the anuvṛtti of स्त्रियाः; for had 'Vriddha' not been used, then with the anuvṛtti of गोत्र from the last sūtra, there would have come the anuvṛtti of स्त्रियाः also, but by using 'Vriddha' the anuvṛtti of 'Gotra' only is taken, and not that of 'striyāh'.

Why do we say "of the Sauvīras"? Observe औपगविर्जात्यः ॥ Why do we say 'in denoting contempt'? Observe भागविज्ञायनो माणवकः ॥ Why do we say 'diversely'? The word बहुल indicates the anomalous nature of these four sūtras IV. 1. 147 to 150. Thus the first of these viz IV. 1. 147 only denotes contempt, the last of these viz IV. 1. 150, denotes 'Sauvīra' only and not contempt; whilst the middle two namely IV. 1. 148 and 189 denote both 'contempt' and 'Sauvīra'.

फेच्छ च ॥ १४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ फेः, छ-च (कुत्सने-सौवीरेषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ किमन्तात्प्रातिपदिकान् सौवीरगोत्रादपत्ये छः प्रत्ययो भवति चकारादठक् कुत्सने गन्धमाने ॥

Kārikā यमुन्वद्य सुयाया च वार्ष्यायणिः किम् स्मृताः ।

सौवीरेषु च कुत्सायां द्वौ योगौ शब्दवित् स्मरेत् ॥

189. When contempt is to be expressed, the affix छ (as well as the affix ठक्) comes in the sense of a des-

endant, after a Nominal-stem ending in the affix किम् and denoting a Sauvira Gotra.

Thus the son of यमुन्दायनि will be यामुन्दायनिः formed by the affix किम् (IV. 1. 154) as this word belongs to Tikādi class. The son of Yāmundāyani will be either यमुन्दायनीयः or यामुन्दायनिकाः ॥

But when contempt is not to be expressed, the son of यामुन्दायनिः will be यामुन्दायनिः ॥ Thus यामुन्दायनि + अण् = यामुन्दायनि + ० (II. 4. 58) = यामुन्दायनिः ॥

So also when persons of Suvira country are not meant, उ is not added. Thus तैकायनिः ॥

The कः of the sūtra refers to किम् and not to किन्, for a stem formed by किन् will not have a Vṛddhi letter in the first syllable and will not be called 'Vṛddham'; and the anuvṛitti of this word is understood in the sūtra.

According to the Kārikā, three किम्न्त stems, all belonging to Tikādi class, are only governed by this sūtra viz यमुन्, सुयान् and वार्ष्यायनिः ॥ The son of वृष is Vārshyāyaṇi.

फाण्डाहृतिमिमताभ्यां णकिञौ ॥ १५० ॥ पदानि ॥ फाण्डाहृति-मिमताभ्यां-ण-किञौ (सौवीरेषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ फाण्डाहृतिमिमताभ्यां सौवीरविषयाभ्यामपत्ये णकिञौ प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

150. The affixes ण and कि come, in the sense of a descendant of a person belonging to Suvira country, after the words Phāntāhṛiti and Mimata.

This debars फक् । By the rule of composition in II. 2. 34, the word मित consisting of less syllables than फाण्डाहृत, ought to have been placed first. Its not being placed first in this sūtra indicates, that Sūtra I. 3. 10 does not apply here. So that both the affixes ण and किम् are applied to each of these words, and not one to each respectively, Thus फाण्डाहृतः or फाण्डाहृतायनिः ; मितः or मितायनिः ॥

When not denoting Sauvira Gotras, we have फाण्डाहृतायनः and मितायनः (by फक् ॥ See IV. 1. 101 and IV. 1. 99). The word मित belongs to Naḍādi-class. (IV. 1. 99).

कुर्वादिभ्यो ण्यः ॥ १५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुरु-आदिभ्यः, ण्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुरु इत्येवमादिभ्यः कुरो-भ्योऽपत्ये ण्यः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

151. The affix ण्य comes, in the sense of a descendant after the words 'Kuru' &c.

Thus कुरु + ण्य = कौरव्यः ॥ So also गार्ध्वः ॥ The word कुरु takes the affix ण्य by IV. 1. 172, so that the form कौरव्य is evolved both under the present

sûtra and sūtra 172; but the difference in these two words is this. The word कौरव्य formed by the ष्व of IV. 1. 172, loses its affix in the plural, because ष्व of IV. 1. 172 is a Tadrâja affix (see II 4. 62): but the word कौरव्य formed by the present sūtra retains its affix in the plural. As कौरव्यः ॥ The word कौरव्य occurs in the Tikâdi class (IV. 1. 154), and it takes as such the affix क्तिप्. As कौरव्यावयिः ॥

The word रथकार occurs in this class and it means the caste known as Rathakâra. Rathakâra is a caste a little lower than the twice-born. See Yājñyavalkya Smṛiti, V. 95. But when the word रथकार means a person who makes chariots, that is an artisan, it will take the affix ष्व not by this Sūtra, but by the succeeding sūtra.

The word केचिनी occurs in this class. Its derivative will be केचिन्वः ॥ There will not be puṇvadbhâva as required by VI 3. 34 &c. For had there been puṇvadbhâva, then by मत्वहे तद्धिते, all Bha bases will become puṇvad before a taddhita affix except इ ॥ Therefore केचिनी + ष्व = केचिन् + ष्व ॥ At this stage rule VI. 1. 144 will appear and cause the elision of दि and we shall have केच्-+ष्व = केद्व ॥ But this is not the form desired, hence the word केचिनी is read with the feminine affix in the list.

The word वेन takes this affix in the Vedic literature. Therefore, the form वेन्व in the modern Sanskrit is incorrect.

The word वामरथ occurs in this class. With the exception of accent, it is treated in every other respect like a word of Kaṇvâdi class, a subdivision of Gargâdi (IV. 4. 105). Thus disciples of वामरथः will be formed by the affix भञ् (IV. 2. 111). As वामरथ + भञ् = वामरथः (VI. 1. 105). The plural will be वामरथाः (II. 4. 64). The feminine gender will be वामरथी (IV. 1. 16) or वामरथावनी (IV. 1. 17). The Yuvan will be वामरथायनः (IV. 1. 101). So also it will take भञ् when the sense of collection &c is expressed (IV. 3. 127): as वामरथानि ॥ But as to accent, it will not be like Kaṇvâdi words, for while those words being formed by the affix यच् will have udâtta on the first syllable (VI. 1. 197) the accent of वामरथ will be governed by ष्व ॥

1 कुरु, 2 गर्ग (गर्ग), 3 मङ्गुष, 4 अजमार (अजमारक), 5 रथकार, 6 वा-
वृक, 7 सप्तमः क्षत्रिये, 8 कवि, 9 विमति (मति), 10 कापिञ्जलादि, 11 वाक् (or वाच्)
12 वामरथ, 13 पितृमन्त्र, 14 इन्द्रजाली, (इन्द्रजालि), 15 एभिः, 16 वातकिः, 17 शम्भोष्णीदि,
18 गणकारि, 19 कैशोरि, 20 कुद, 21 शालका (शालका), 22 सुर, 23 पुर, 24 एरका (सरक),
25 शुभ्रः, 26 अभ्र, 27 वर्ध, 28 केचिनी, 29 वेनाच्छन्ति, 30 शूपाय, 31 द्यावनाव, 32
द्यावरथ, 33 द्यावपुत्र, 34 सत्यकार, 35 वडनीकार, 36 पथिकारः, 37 मूढ, 38 शकन्धु, 39 शङ्ख,
40 शक, 41 शाकिन्, 42 शालीनः, 43 कर्तृ, 44 हर्तृ, 45 इन्, 46 पिण्डी (इन्पिण्डी),
47 वामरथस्य कण्वादिबस्तरवर्जम्. (is a Vartika). 48 विस्फोटक, 49, काक, 50 स्फाण्डक,
51 पातकि, 52 धेनुजी, 53 बुद्धिकार.

सेनान्तलक्षणकारिभ्यश्च ॥ १५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सेनान्त, लक्षण, कारिभ्यः, च
(ण्यः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सेनान्तान् मातिपदिकाल्लक्षणशब्दान् कारिभ्यन्तेभ्यश्चापत्ये ण्यः प्रत्ययो भवति । कारिभ्यः कार-
ण्यं तन्नुवायादीनां शब्दकः ॥

152. The affix 'ण्य' comes in the sense of a descendant, after a Nominal stem ending in 'senâ,' after the word 'lakshana,' and after words denoting artisans.

The word कारि means 'handicrafts,' such as weavers, barbers, potters, &c. Thus कारिणेयः हारिणेयः, लक्षणेयः, तान्नुवाय्यः, कौम्मकारिः, नापित्यः ॥

उदीचामिश् ॥ १५३ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सेनान्तलक्षणकारिभ्यो ऽपत्ये इम् प्रत्ययो भवति उदीचां मतेन ॥

153. According to the opinion of Northern Gram-
marians, the affix 'इञ्' comes in the sense of a descendant,
after the words ending in 'senâ,' the word 'lakshana,' and
words expressing artisans.

Thus कारिणेभिः, हारिणेभिः, लक्षणेभिः, तान्नुवायेभिः, कौम्मकारिः ॥ As to the word लक्षणे
'carpenter.' See IV. 1. 112. It will have लक्षणेः and लक्षणेयः, but will not take
इम् ॥ The word नापित् being a Vridhdha, non-gotra word, will take किम् under
IV. 1. 157 according to the Northern Grammarians, as नापितादपिः ॥

तिक्कादिभ्यः किञ् ॥ १५४ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिक् इत्येवमादिभ्यः छन्दोभ्योऽपत्ये किम् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

154. The affix 'किञ्' comes, in the sense of a
descendant, after the words तिक् &c.

Thus तैक्कायानिः, कैतवायानिः ॥ The word वृष occurs in this class. In taking
this affix, it adds an intermediate ष as वाच्यायानिः ॥ The word कौरव्य occurs in
this class, and denotes a Kshatriya: because it is immediately preceded by
the word भौरव्य = उरसा घृते = उरघः भावियः, his son will be aurasa with, अम् which ends
in an affix denoting a Kshatriya (IV. 1. 168). But the word कौरव्य formed by
the affix ण्य of IV. 1. 150 will take the affix इष् and not किम् of this Sûtra.
See II. 4. 58 and 68.

1 तिक्, 2 कितव, 3 संज्ञा, 4 बाल् (बाल) 5 धित्वा, 6 उरस् (उरघ), 7 घाञ्
(घाञ्) 8 सेन्धव, 9 यमुन्, 10 रुण्य, 11 घाण्य, 12 नील, 13 भनिच, 14 गौकश्य, 15
कुह (कह) 16 देवरय, 17 तैतल (तैतिल) 18 भौरव (भौरघ), 19 कौरव्य, 20 भौरिकि,
21 भौरिकि, 22 औपयत, 23 वैद्ययत, 24 शीकयत (शैकयत) 25 शैतयत, 26 वाजवत
(वाजवत K.) 27 चन्द्रमस, 28 शुभ, 29 गङ्गा, 30 वरेण्य, 31 मुपामन्, 32 भारज (भारट्),
33 वयका, 34 खल्यका (खल्या; खल्य) 35 वृष, 36 लोमक, 37 उरव (उरव्य) 38 च

३९ सुयामन्, ४० कृद्व (कृच्छ), ४१ भीत, ४२ आजन्, ४३ रत्न, ४४ त्रयक, ४५ अजवर, ४६ वसु, ४७ बन्धु, ४८ भावन्धका (as well as भावन्धका).

कौसल्यकार्मार्याभ्यां च ॥ १५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कौसल्य-कार्मार्याभ्यां च (किम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कौसल्यकार्मार्यद्वयस्यामपत्ये किम् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ इगुकोसलकर्मरच्छाग वृषाणां जुह ॥

155. The affix किम् comes in the sense of a descendant after the words Kausalya, and Kârmârya.

This debars इम् ॥ Thus कौसल्यायनिः and कार्मार्यायनिः ॥ These words, however, do not mean "the son of कौसल्य or कार्मर्य," but they mean "the son of कौसल, and कर्मर," because of the following Vârtika

Vârti:—The words इगु, कोसल, कर्मर, छाग and वृष take the augment जुह before the affix किम् ॥ Thus इगुप्यायनिः, कौसल्यायनिः, कार्मार्यायनिः, छाग्यायनिः and वार्यायनिः ॥

अणो द्वयचः ॥ १५६ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अणन्ताद् द्वयचः प्रातिपदिकादपत्ये किम् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ त्यसारीनां वा किम् वक्तव्यः ॥

156. The affix 'phiñ' comes, in the sense of a descendant, after a dissyllabic word ending in the affix 'अण्'.

This debars इम् ॥ Thus कार्यायनिः 'son of Kârtra,' हार्यायनिः 'son of a Hârtra.'

Why do we say "which ends in the affix अण्"? Observe दाक्षायणः 'son of Dākshî' (IV. 1, 101). Why do we say a 'dissyllabic word? Observe औपगविः 'son of औपगव' ॥

Vârti:—The pronouns 'tyad &c.' optionally take the affix किम् or अण् ॥ Thus त्यादायनिः or त्यादः, दादायनिः or दादः, तादायनिः, or तादः ॥

उदीचां वृद्धादगोत्रत् ॥ १५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदीचां, वृद्धात्, अगोत्रात् (किम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वृद्धं वृद्धरूपमगोत्रं तस्मादपत्ये किम् प्रत्ययो भवति उदीचामाचार्याणां मतेन ॥

157. According to the opinion of Northern Grammarians, after words with a Vridhhi in the first syllable, when it is not a Gotra-name, the affix 'phiñ' is employed in the sense of a descendant.

Thus आब्रह्मण्यनिः "son of आब्रह्मण," मानरक्षायनिः 'son of मानरक्ष' ॥ नापितायनिः 'son of a barber.' This latter is formed in spite of IV. 1, 152, because rule I. 4. 2 applies here.

Why do we say 'according to the opinion of Northern Grammarians'? Observe आब्रह्मणिः. Why do we say 'after a word having a Vridhhi in the first syllable'? Observe यज्ञरक्षिः 'son of यज्ञरक्ष.' Why do we say 'not being a Gotra-name'? Observe औपगविः ॥

वाकिनादीनां कुक्च ॥ १५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वाकिन-आदीनां, कुक्-च (फिस्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वाकिन इत्येवमादिभ्यः चाद्येभ्योऽपत्ये किम् प्रत्ययो भवति सस्त्रिभ्योऽनेन त्रैषां कुगागमः ॥

158. The augment क् (Kuk) is added to the words Vākina &c. when the patronymic affix 'phiñ' follows.

This वाकिनकायनिः, गोत्रकायनिः ॥ This debars इम् &c. But if the anuvṛitti of इरीचां is read into this aphorism, then it becomes an optional rule. In that case we have in the alternative :—वाकिनिः, गोत्रिभिः ॥

1 वाकिन, 2 गोत्रि (गोत्रे K.) 3 कार्कष (कार्कष्य K.), 4 काक, 5 लूक, 6 चर्मि-
र्मिर्जोर्नलोपच ॥

पुत्रान्तादन्यतरस्याम् ॥ १५९ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पुत्रान्ताद्यातिपदिकायः किम्प्रत्ययस्तास्मिन् परस्मै अन्यतरस्यां कुगागमो भवति पुत्रान्तरत्वे ॥

159. The augment 'कुक्' optionally comes after a stem ending with the word pūtra, when the patronymic affix 'phiñ' follows.

The anuvṛitti of the words "according to the opinion of Northern Grammarians when the word has a Vṛiddhi in the first syllable" must be read into this sūtra. Of course, a word ending in पुत्र cannot be a Gotra-word, for a Gotra word means a grandson or a still lower descendant. Hence a word ending in पुत्र having Vṛiddhi in the first syllable will take the affix किम् by IV. 1. 157; the present aphorism only rules that it takes the augment कुक् optionally.

Thus we have three forms :—गार्गीपुत्रकायनिः or गार्गीपुत्रायनिः or गार्गीपुत्रिः ॥ So also वात्सीपुत्रकायनिः, वात्सीपुत्रायनिः and वात्सीपुत्रिः ॥

प्राचामभृद्धात्किन्बहुलम् ॥ १६० ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राचाम्, अभृद्धात्, किन्, बहुलम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अभृद्धाच्छब्दरूपादपत्ये किन् प्रत्यया भवति बहुले प्राचां वलेन ॥

160. According to the opinion of Eastern Grammarians, after a stem not having a Vṛiddhi vowel in the first syllable, the affix 'phiñ' is diversely employed in the sense of a descendant.

Thus ग्लुचुकायनिः or ग्लौचुकिः 'son of Gluchuka', ॥ अहिचुम्बकायनिः or अहि-
चुम्बिः ॥ Why do we say, "not having a Vṛiddhi in the first syllable"? Ob-
serve एज्वन्तिः ॥ The words प्राचाम्, बहुलं and अन्यतरस्याम् all denote optional rules,
so the employment of any one of them would have here sufficed. Why two are
used in this sūtra viz. प्राचां and बहुलं? The mention of Grammarians is made as
a token of respect, and बहुलं is used to express the non-uniformity of the sūtra
construction. In some places this affix किन् is not at all added, as 'वासी-'
लाशिः ॥

मनोजातावन्व्यतो पुक् च ॥ १६१ ॥ मनोः-जातौ, अन्-यतौ, पुक् च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मनुष्यादम् यन् इत्येतौ प्रत्ययौ भवतस्तत्सन्नियोगेन पुगागमः समुदायेन येज्जातिर्गन्धते ॥

Kārikā अपत्ये कुत्सिते मूढे मनोरोत्सारिकः स्तुतः ।

नकारस्य च मूर्धन्यस्तेन सिद्धाति माणवः ॥

161. The affixes अन् and यत् come after the word 'Manu', and the augment पुक् is added when these affixes follow, provided that, the whole word so formed denotes a class name (jāti).

Thus मनु + पुक् + अन् = मानुषः "a man or man-kind". So also मनुष्यः formed with यत् ॥ These affixes here have not the force of Patronymics, hence they are not dropped in the plural, as मानुषाः "men". When the descendant is to be expressed, we have the affix अण् as मनु + अण् = मानवः 'son of Manu', as in मानसी प्रजा ॥ So also the word माणव, there व is changed into ञ and denotes the descendant of Manu, with the sense of contempt as well as dullness implied.

अपत्यं पौत्रप्रभृति गोत्रम् ॥ १६२ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पौत्रप्रभृति यदपत्यं तद्गोत्रसंज्ञं भवति ॥

162. A descendant, being a grandson or a still lower offspring, is called Gotra.

When an offspring, with reference to a person, is the son's son of that person or lower than that, it is called Gotra. Thus the son of 'Garga' will be गार्गिः, and the son or grandsons &c of गार्गिः with reference to Garga will be गार्ग्यः ॥ Similarly वात्स्यः ॥

Why do we say 'a grandson or a still lower descendant'? The immediate descendants or the son will not be called Gotra. Thus कौञ्जिकः, गार्गिः ॥

जीवति तु वंश्ये युवा ॥ १६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ जीवति, तु, वंश्ये, युवा (अपत्यं-पौत्रप्रभृति) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभिजनप्रबन्धो वंशः । तत्रभवो वंश्यः पित्रादि, तस्मिन् जीवति सति पौत्रप्रभृत्यपत्यं युवसंज्ञं भवति ॥

163. But when one in a line of descent beginning with a father (and reckoning upwards) is alive, the descendant of a grandson or still lower descendant is called Yuvan only.

The word वंश means an uninterrupted series of family descent—or 'a line'. One who occurs in such a line, like father &c, is called वंश्यः ॥ When such

a vaṅśya is alive, then the descendant of a grandson &c is called Yuvan. The phrase पौत्रप्रभृत्यपत्य in the sūtra should be construed as पौत्रप्रभृतेर् अर् अपत्यम् 'He who is the descendant of a grandson &c' In the last sūtra, however, this phrase पौत्रप्रभृत्यपत्य was properly construed by putting the word पौत्रप्रभृति in the case of apposition with अपत्यम् meaning "a descendant being a grandson &c." Thus the word Yuvan will be applied to a person who is at least fourth in the order of descent, from the *propositus* with reference to whom the derivative is made. Thus गर्भः being the head, we have गर्भिः

अपत्यम् — { गर्भिः (son or putra)
गर्भः (Gotra)
गर्ग्यायणः (Yuvan) if Gārga or Gārgi &c

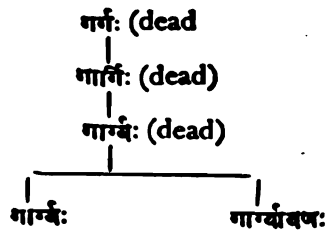
be alive). The force of the word ह्य, in the sūtra is that it will be called Yuvan only, and not Gotra as well.

भ्रातरि च ज्यायसि ॥ १६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ भ्रातरि, च, ज्यायसि (जीवति-अपत्य-पौत्रप्रभृति-युवा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भ्रातरि ज्यायसि जीवति कनीयान् युवसंज्ञो भवति पौत्रप्रभृतेरपत्यम् ॥

164. When an elder brother is alive, the younger brother gets the title of Yuvan, being the descendant of a grandson &c.

Even when a बन्धुः like father &c is not alive (and a brother is not vaṅśya), the younger brother gets the designation of yuvan, when the elder brother is alive; thus:



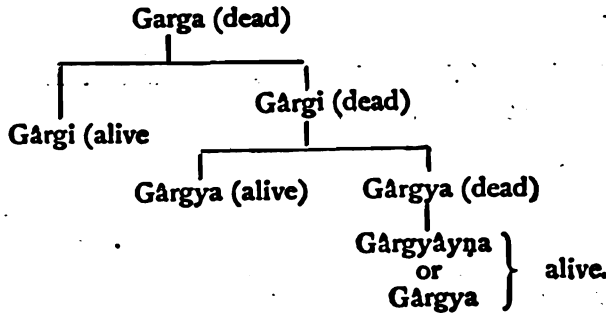
The word बन्धुः is confined to ancestors like father &c, so a brother can never be a vaṅśya, because he is not the source from which the other brother arises. This sūtra applies to cases when Vaṅśya is not meant. Thus Gārgyāṇa is the name of the younger brother with reference to the elder brother, Gārgya; similarly Vātsyāyana, Dākṣāyana, and Plākṣāyana.

वान्यास्मिन् सपिण्डे स्थविरतरे जीवति ॥ १६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, अन्यस्मिन्, स-पिण्डे, स्थविरतरे, जीवति (अपत्य-पौत्र प्रभृति युवा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भ्रातृव्यास्मिन्सपिण्डे स्थविरतरे जीवति पौत्रप्रभृतेरपत्यं जीवदेव युवसंज्ञं वा भवति ॥

165. The living descendant of a grandson &c is called optionally a Yuvan, when a more superior sapinda other than a brother is alive.

The sapinda relationship extends up to seven degrees. The word *स्यदिर* means 'superior', and *स्यदिरतर* is comparative and means 'more superior', that is to say, superior both by *degree* of descent and by *age*. The word *जीवति* is again read in this aphorism, though there is the anuvṛitti of *जीवति* also from IV. I. 163. This *जीवति* of the sūtra qualifies the word descendant, the *जीवति* which is understood by context qualifies the word sapinda thus :—



Here the uncle or the brother of a grand-father being alive, the descendant is optionally called Yuvan or Gotra.

वृद्धस्य च पूजायाम् ॥ १६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृद्धस्य, च, पूजायाम् (वा-युवा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपत्यमन्तर्हित वृद्धमिति शास्त्रान्तरे परिभाषणाङ्गोक्तं वृद्धमित्युच्यते । वृद्धस्य युवसंज्ञा वा भवति पूजायां गम्यमानायाम् । संज्ञासामर्थ्याङ्गोक्तं युवप्रत्ययेन पुनरुच्यते ॥

166. The Gotra is sometimes optionally regarded as Yuvan, when respectful reference to him is intended.

The word Vṛiddha is another term for Gotra. As तत्र भवान् गार्ग्ययणः or गार्ग्यः "you honored Gārgyāyana or Gārgya". This sūtra is in fact a Vārtika and not a sūtra of Pāṇini. Similarly तत्र भवान् वात्स्यायनः or वात्स्यः, तत्र भवान् शाक्ययणः or शाक्तिः ॥

Why do we say 'when respectful reference is intended'? Observe, वात्स्यः and गार्ग्यः ॥ The definition of Vṛiddham as given by other Grammarians is अपत्यमन्तर्हित वृद्धम् ॥

यूनश्च कुत्सायाम् ॥ १६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ यूनः, च, कुत्सायाम्- (वा-युवा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुत्सायां गम्यमानायां युनो वा युवसंज्ञो भवति ॥

167. The Yuvan is optionally spoken of as Gotra, when contemptuous reference to him is intended.

Thus गार्ग्यो जात्यः or गार्ग्ययणो जात्यः ॥ When contempt is not intended, the only form is गार्ग्ययणः ॥ This is also a Vārtika and not a sūtra.

जनपदशब्दात्क्षत्रियादङ् ॥ १६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ जनपदशब्दात्क्षत्रियात् अङ् ॥
 वृत्तिः ॥ जनपदशब्दो यः क्षत्रियवाची तस्मादपत्ये ऽम् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥
 पार्श्विकम् ॥ क्षत्रियसमानशब्दाज्जनपदशब्दात्तस्य एजन्यपत्यवत् ॥

168. The affix अङ् comes in the sense of a descendant, after a word, which while denoting a country, expresses also a tribe of Kshatriyas.

Thus पाञ्चालः 'the son of Pañchala', so also वैदेहाकः and वैदेहः are Kshatriyas who live in that country. Of course, when the word is only expressive of Kshatriya, but not of the name of a country, अङ् will not be used but अञ्, the difference being in the accent. Thus द्रुपदः 'the son of Drûhya'; पुरः 'the son of Puru.' Why do we say when it expresses Kshatriyas? Observe ब्राह्मणस्य पञ्चालस्यापत्यं = पाञ्चालिः, (IV. 1. 95) 'the son of Pañchâla a Brahmana'; so also वैदेहिः ॥

Vdt. :—Let the same affix, which comes when the sense is that of the progeny, be added to a word denoting a country named after Kshatriyas, to denote the king thereof. Thus पञ्चालनाम् एजा = पाञ्चालः 'the king of the Kshatriyas called Pañchâla or of the country of Pañchâlas'. So also वैदेहः, 'the king of the Kshatriyas or of the country of Videha'.

The words Pañchâla &c. originally are names of Kshatriya tribes only, secondarily they have been applied to the country inhabited by those tribes, because the Taddhita affix denoting 'the country inhabited by them,' is elided by IV. 2. 81. Thus the same word पञ्चाल comes to denote the Kshatriya tribe as well as the country called Pañchâla. It will make practically little difference to consider words like Pañchâla &c. as *original* (not *derivative*) name of countries as well as of Kshatriyas. In fact, Pāṇini himself considers them in the same light in this sūtra, and does not think them to be derivative words, in spite of his own sūtra IV. 2. 81. These words when denoting a country are always in the plural, as पञ्चालाः, in denoting the Kshatriya, they are in the singular.

साल्वेयगान्धारिज्यां च ॥ १६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ साल्वेय-गान्धारिज्यां, च (अङ्) ॥
 वृत्तिः ॥ साल्वेयगान्धारिज्यशब्दाभ्यामपत्ये ऽम् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

169. The affix अङ् comes in the sense of a descendant after the words 'Sâlveya' and 'Gândhârî'.

Both these are names of countries and denote also Kshatriyas as well. Therefore, by sūtra IV. 1. 171 they having a Vṛiddhi in the first syllable, would have taken the affix 'ñyañ', the present sūtra enjoins 'añ' instead. Thus साल्वेयः 'the son of Sâlveya, or the king of Sâlveya', गान्धारः 'the son of Gândhârî

or the king of Gāndhāri? The vārtika under Sūtra IV. 1. 168 given above applies here also, i. e. the affix denotes also 'the king there of'

अङ्गमगधकलिङ्गसूरमसादण् ॥ १७० ॥ पदानि ॥ अङ्गच्-मगध-कलिङ्ग-सूरमसात्-अण् (जनपदशब्दात्-क्षत्रियात्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जनपदशब्दात् क्षत्रियाभिधायिनो अङ्गो मगध कलिङ्ग सूरमस इत्येतेभ्यश्चापत्येऽणप्रत्ययौ भवति ॥

107. The affix अण् comes, in the sense of a descendant, after dissyllabic words, and the words 'Magadha', 'Kalinga' and 'Sūramasa', when they are the names of countries as well as of Kshatriyas.

This debars अङ् ॥ Thus अङ्गः, बाङ्गः; मगधः, कालिङ्गः, and सूरमसः 'the son as well as the king of Anga, Banga, Magadha, Kalinga and Suramasa'. Similarly षौण्डः, सौह्यः ॥ The Vārtika 'तस्यपञ्चनि' given above applies to this also, as अङ्गो पञ्चा, गान्धाणे पञ्चा &c.

वृद्धेत्कोसलाजादाङ्ग्यङ् ॥ १७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृद्ध-इत्-कोसल-अजादात्-अङ्ग्यङ् (जनपदशब्दात्-क्षत्रियात्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जनपदशब्दात् क्षत्रियादित्येव । वृद्धाच्च प्रातिपदिकारिकापन्ताच्च कोसलाजादशब्दायां चापत्ये अङ्ग्यङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ पाण्डोर्जनपदशब्दात् छत्रियाद् डघण् वक्तव्यः ॥

171. The affix 'अङ्ग्यङ्' comes in the sense of a descendant, after a word having a Vriddhi in the first syllable, and after a word ending in short इ, and after the words 'Kosala' and 'Ajāda', when they are the names of countries and Kshatriyas.

This debars अङ् ॥ Thus, to give example of Vriddha words, आम्बश्वः सौवीर्यः 'the sons or kings of Ambashṭha and Sauvīra'. Similarly to take words ending in short इ, we have आवन्त्यः and कौन्त्यः 'the son or kings of Avanti and Kunti'. These are words ending in short इ ॥ So also कौसल्यः and आजायः, which are neither Vriddhas nor end in short इ ॥

Vārt:—The affix 'द्याङ्' comes after the word 'Pāṇḍu' when it is the name of a country as well as of a Kshatriya tribe. Thus पांडवः, otherwise it will be पांडवः ॥ See IV. 1. 74.

कुरुनादिभ्यो ण्यः ॥ १७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुरु-नादिभ्योः, ण्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जनपदशब्दान्तक्षत्रियादित्येव । कुरुशब्दान्नादिभ्यश्च प्रातिपदिकेभ्योऽण्यः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

172. The affix ण्य comes after the word 'Kuru', and a word beginning with न, when these words denote a country, being the name of a Kshatriya tribe also.

This debars 'ap' and 'ah'. Thus कौरव्यः, नैषधः 'the son of Kuru and Nishadha'. The affix denotes 'the king there of' also, as कौरव्यो राजा ॥ How do you explain the form नैषधोऽस्ति चैषधः? This is an archaic or Vedic form. How then in सनैषधस्त्यार्यपतेः सुतार्यः? This is a poetic license.

साल्वावयवप्रत्ययप्रथमकलकूटाश्मकादिभ्यः ॥ १७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ साल्वावयव-प्रत्ययप्रथम-
कलकूट-अश्मकात्, इभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जनपदवाङ्मातृ क्षत्रियारित्येव ॥ साल्वावयवेभ्यः प्रत्ययप्रथमकलकूटाश्मकादिभ्यश्चापत्ये इभ्यः प्रत्यये
भवति ॥

Kārikā उदुम्बरस्तिलखला मद्रकाय युगन्धराः ।

भुलिङ्गाः शारदण्डाश्च साल्वावयवसंज्ञिताः ॥

173. The affix इभ्यः comes in the sense of a descendant, after a word which denotes any subdivision of the country of Sālva; and after the words 'Pratyagratha', 'Kalakūta', and 'Asmaka', when these are names of countries and of Kshatriya tribes.

The word साल्वा is the name of a Kshatriya woman, her son will be साल्वेवः (IV. 1. 121) formed by इभ्यः; also साल्वः formed by भ्यः ॥ The dwelling place of साल्व will be also साल्वः which is the name of a country.

The sub-divisions of the country called साल्व are six, viz Udumbarāḥ, Tilakhalāḥ, Madrakarāḥ, Yugandharāḥ, Bhulingāḥ and Śaradaṇḍāḥ. The patronymic from these will be : औदुम्बरिः, तिलखलिः, मद्रकारिः, युगन्धरिः, भौलिङ्गिः and शारदण्डिः ॥ So also the affix 'in' will be added to the words 'Pratyagratha' &c. As प्रात्यग्रथिः, कालकूटिः and आश्मकिः ॥ The affix has the force also of 'the king there of'. As औदुम्बरो राजा ॥ According to Mahābhāṣya, the words Busa, Ajamiḍha, and Ājakanda also take this affix, as बौसः, आजमीढिः and आजकान्दिः ॥

ते तद्राजाः ॥ १७४ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेषामार्यस्तद्वाजसंज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

174. These (viz the affixes अञ् IV. 1. 168 &c) are called Tadrāja ('the king there of') affixes.

The affixes treated of in these six sūtras 168 to 173 are called Tadrāja. The pronoun ते refers to these only and not to all the affixes treated of before S. IV. 1. 168; for they have the special designation of Gotra and Yuvan see II. 4. 62. The illustrations of these have already been given under each of the above six aphorisms.

कम्बोजाल्लुक् ॥ १७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कम्बोजात्-लुक् (तद्राजस्य) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कम्बोजात् प्रत्ययस्य लुग् भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ कम्बोजादिभ्यो लुग्वचनं चोल/घर्यम् ॥

175. After the word 'Kamboja', there is elision by 'luk' of the Tadrāja affix.

Namely the affix **अम्** which would have come after the word **कम्बोज** because it denotes a country as well as a Kshatriya tribe, is elided. Thus **कम्बोजः**, 'The king of Kamboja'.

Vṛti:—It should be stated rather 'after Kamboja and the like', because we find the affix elided after 'Cholā' &c. Thus **चोलः**, 'the king of Cholās'. So also **केरलः**, **राक्षः**, **द्वयनः** ॥

स्त्रियामवन्तिकुन्तिकुरुभ्यश्च ॥ १७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्त्रियाम्, अवन्ति-कुन्ति-कुरुभ्यः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अवन्तिकुन्तिकुरुभ्यश्च इत्यमस्य तद्राजस्य स्त्रियामभिधेयायां लुम्भवति ॥

176. In denoting a feminine name, the Tadrāja is elided after the words **Avanti**, **Kunti** and **Kuru**.

That is to say the affix 'nyah'. (IV. 1. 171) after the word 'Avanti' and 'Kunti', and the affix 'nya' after the word 'Kuru' are elided when the word to be formed is the name of a female. Thus **अवन्ती**, **कुन्ती** and **कुरुः** 'a daughter or princess of Avanti, Kunti or Kuru'. The word **कुरु** takes **कृ** in the feminine by IV. 1. 66. Why do we say 'in denoting the feminine'? Observe **आवन्त्यः**, **कौरव्यः** and **कौन्त्यः** ॥

अतश्च ॥ १७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अतः-च (स्त्रियाम्, लुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अकारप्रत्ययस्य तद्राजस्य स्त्रियामभिधेयायां लुम्भवति ॥

177. In forming the feminine of a word which ends in the masculine in the Tadrāja affix **अ**, the affix is **luk**-elided.

Thus *m. शौत्सेनः, f. शूरसेनी*; *m. तद्राजः, f. नद्री* ॥ The word **अतः** of the sūtra should not be construed by the rule of *tadanata vidhi* (I. 1. 72). If so construed it will mean "a Tadrāja affix ending in **अ** is elided". There have been taught five Tadrāja affixes, namely 'añ (**अ**)', 'aṇ (**अ**)', 'ṇyah (**य**)', 'ṇya (**य**)' and 'in (**इ**)'. Of these the first four all end in **अ**; therefore all these four affixes should be elided in the feminine. But this is not the meaning of the author; for had it been so, there would have been no necessity of the previous sūtra, for then the present sūtra would have covered the case of 'Avanti', 'Kunti' and 'Kuru'. But the very fact of this sūtra IV. 1. 176 indicates by **ज्ञापक**, that the *tadanta vidhi* does not apply here. Therefore, the feminine of **आम्बह्यः** is **आम्बह्या**, of **सौवीर्यः** is **सौवीर्या** ॥

नप्राच्यभर्गादियौधेयादिभ्यः ॥ १७८ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राच्येभ्यो भर्गादिभ्यो यौधेयादिभ्योत्पत्त्य मुद्गु भवति । अतश्चेत्यनेन सिद्धं मुद्गु प्रातः प्राक्-
विद्यति ॥

178. The Tadarāja affix is not elided in the feminine, if it forms the names of the Kshatriyas of the East, or it comes after the word 'Bhargā' &c and 'Yaudheya' &c.

This sūtra debars the elision of the Tadrāja affix अ (required by the last sūtra). Thus पांचाली, वैदेही, भांगी, बांगी, नागधी these being all Eastern people dwelling in countries east of the Śarāvati river. Similarly of भर्ग &c. Thus भार्गी, कारुषी, केकेयी ॥ So also of यौधेय &c. Thus यौधेयी, यौधेयी and यौकेयी ॥ The Tadrāja affixes taught above are five, but besides these there are others taught in the fifth Adhyāya (V. 3. 112 to 119). The word यौधेय is formed by such an affix (V. 3. 177 अम्). The present rule, therefore, indicates by implication, that the rule of elision contained in IV. 1. 177 applies not only to the Tadrāja affixes taught in this chapter, but to the Tadrāja affixes taught in V. 3. 112 to 119. Thus the Tadrāja affix अम् in (V. 3. 117) added to वसु &c. is elided in the feminine: e. g. m. पार्श्वः f पार्श्वी, m भासुरः f भासुरी—&c.

1 भर्ग, 2 करुष (करुष), 3 केकेय, 4 कम्भीर, 5 साल्व, 6 मुत्स्यान्, 7 उरस
(उरस and उरस). 8 कौरव्य.

1 यौधेय, 2 यौकेय, 3 यौधेय, 4 ज्यावाण्य (यावाण्य), 5 धौतय (धौतयः धौतय)
6 विगर्त, 7 भरत, 8 उद्यानिर, 9 गार्तेय ॥

ओ३म् ।

अथ चतुर्थाध्यायस्य द्वितीयः पादः ।

BOOK FOURTH.

CHAPTER SECOND.

तेन रक्तं रागात् ॥ १ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेति तृतीयासमर्थाद्वागविशेषवाचिनः शब्दाद्वक्तमित्यतास्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

1. The affix अण् already ordained (IV. 1. 83) comes after the name of a colour in the sense of "coloured thereby".

The verb रङ्ग means to change white into another color. That by which a thing is coloured is called रागः 'color'. तेन 'by which', i. e. after a word in the instrumental case in construction, being the name of a particular colour. Thus कषायेण रक्तं वस्त्रं = काषायम् 'a cloth coloured of a dull red'. So also मांजिष्ठम्, कौसुमम् ॥

Why do we say रागात् "after the name of a color"? Observe देवदत्तेन रक्तं वस्त्रम्, here the affix अण् will not come after the word 'Devadattena', for though it is in construction in the instrumental case, yet it is not the name of a colour.

In the sentence "काषायो गर्भस्य कर्णौ, हारिद्रौ कुक्षदस्यादौ" the words काषाय and हारिद्र are used metaphorically.

From this sūtra up to IV. 2. 12 inclusive, the affixes are to be added to the word which is in the instrumental case in construction in a sentence (IV. 1. 82): as in the last chapter, the affixes were added to a word in the genitive case.

लाक्षा रोचना शकल कर्दमादृक् ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ लाक्षा, रोचना, शकल, कर्दमात्, ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लाक्षादिभ्यो रागवचनेभ्यस्तृतीयासमर्थेभ्यो रक्तमित्येतास्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ नील्या अण् वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ पीताम् कण् वक्तव्यः ॥

वा० ॥ हरिद्रामहारजनाभ्यामभ्रवक्तव्यः ॥

2. The affix **ठक्** comes, in the sense of colored thereby, after the words *lākshâ, rochanâ, sakala, and kardama*, (which being names of colours, are in the instrumental case in a sentence).

This debars **अच्** ॥ Thus *लाशाय रक्तं वस्त्रं*—*लाशिकम्*, so also *ऐशानिकम्*, *शाकलिकम्* and *कार्दमिकम्* ॥

According to the opinion of Patanjali, the affix **अच्** also comes after *शकल* and *कर्दम* : ॥ Thus *शाकलम्* and *कार्दमम्* ॥ According to *Mahâbhâshya* the words *शकल* and *कर्दम* do not occur in the *sûtra*, but are given in the *Vârtika*.

Vart:—The affix **अच्** comes after *नीली*: as *नील्या रक्तं*—*नीलं वस्त्रं* ॥

Vart:—The affix **कच्** (I. 3. 8) comes after *पीत*, as *पीतेन रक्तं*—*पीतकम्* ॥

Vart:—The affix **अच्** comes after *हरिद्रा* and *महापञ्चन*, as *हरिद्रम्* and *महापञ्चनम्* ॥

नक्षत्रेण युक्तः कालः ॥ ३ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इतीयासमर्थान् नक्षत्रविशेषवाचिनः पञ्चाङ्गं युक्तं इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्यये भवति । योसौ युक्तः, कालश्चेत्य भवति ॥

3. The affix **अण्** already ordained 1V. 1. 83 comes after a word in the instrumental case in construction, which is the name of a lunar mansion, to signify a time connected with the asterism.

A time is said to be connected with an asterism when the moon is in conjunction with any one of such asterism. Thus *पुष्य, चिन्म, मघा* &c are lunar asterisms, when the moon is in any one of these asterisms, then the affix is added to the name of such asterism in order to denote time of such conjunction. Thus *पुष्य + अण् - पीपः* (VI. 4. 149) e. g. *पौषिरात्रिः* "the night in which moon is in Pushya". So also *माघी रात्रिः*; *पौषमह* 'the month in which the moon is full in Pushya i. e. December'. so also *माघमह* 'the month Mâgha' &c.

Why do we say *नक्षत्रेण* 'connected with the asterism'? Observe *चन्द्र-मत्ता युक्ता रात्रिः* ॥ Why do we say *काल* 'time'? Observe *पुष्येण युक्तचन्द्रमा* ॥

लुपविशेषे ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ लुप्-अविशेषे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वेण विहितस्य प्रत्ययस्य लुप् भवति अविशेषः ।

4. The affix above ordained is elided by *lup*, when there is no specification.

That is the affix enjoined by the preceding aphorism is elided if no specification is to be understood of a particular portion of time such as

night &c. Thus भयः पुष्यः 'to day belongs to the asterism Pushya' meaning that to-day the moon is in conjunction with Pushya ; but by 'to-day' neither the day time in particular nor the night time in particular is meant, but both alike. The time is day and night, when there is no specification of such time, whether it is day or night, then there is elision.

संज्ञायां ऋवणाश्वत्याभ्याम् ॥ ५ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋवणशब्दाश्चत्यशब्दाद्योत्पन्नस्य प्रत्ययस्य लुप् भवति संज्ञायां विशेषे ॥

5. The affix above ordained is elided by lup, after the words Śravaṇa and Asvatha, when the whole word so formed is an appellation, and there is specification of time.

Thus ऋवणा रात्रिः, अश्वत्यो मुहूर्तः "the night called Śravaṇā ; the Muhūrta called Aśvattha". The affix being elided by 'lup', why should not I. 2. 51 apply here ? We should say ऋवणाः रात्रिः and not ऋवण रात्रिः. The reason is that ऋवणा is an irregularly formed word, as Pāṇini himself uses it in sūtra IV. 2. 23. Why do we say 'when it is a Name or Sañjñā' ? Observe आवणी or आश्वत्यी रात्रिः ।

इन्द्राच्छः ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ इन्द्रात्-छः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नक्षत्रइन्द्रात्तृतीयासमर्थाद्युक्ते काले छः प्रत्ययो भवति विशेषे वा विशेषे च ॥

6. The affix छ comes after the Dvandva compound of the names of lunar mansions, when it is in the instrumental case in construction, to signify time connected with the asterism whether there be a specification or not.

Thus राधानुराधीया रात्रिः, तिष्यपुनर्वसुधीयमहः ॥ So also when there is no specification : as अथ राधानुराधीयम्, अथ तिष्यपुनर्वसुधीयम् ॥ The affix here in these two last cases is not elided, though there is no specification of time, because the present sūtra, being a subsequent sūtra, will debar IV. 2. 4 which ordains lup (I. 4. 2).

दृष्टं सामं ॥ ७ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेति तृतीयासमर्थाद् दृष्टं सामेत्यास्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति, यद् दृष्टं साम चेत्तद्वति ॥

7. The affix अण् (IV. 1. 83) comes, after a word in construction in the Instrumental case, in the sense of seen—the thing seen by the one whose name is in the Instrumental case, being the Sāma Veda.

Thus कुरुञ्चन दृष्टं = कुरुञ्चं साम "the portion of the Sāma seen by (or revealed to) Kuruñcha." So also वासिष्ठम्, वैश्वामित्रम् ॥

कलेर्देक् ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कलेः-देक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कलिघञ्जास्तृतीयासमर्थाद् वृट् सामेव्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ङङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सर्वत्राग्निमिन्द्राङ्गवक्तव्यः ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वृटे सामनि भण् वा ङिङ्गवतीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ ज्ञाते चार्थे योन्येन बाधितः पुनरपिधीयते स वा ङिङ्गवतीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ तीयादीकङ् स्वार्थे वा वक्तव्यः ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ न विद्यायाः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ गोचारङ्गवर्षिष्यते ॥

Kārikā

वृटे सामनि ज्ञाते च ङिङ्गवतीति विधीयते ।

तीयादीकङ् न विद्याया गोचारङ्गवर्षिष्यते ॥

8. The affix ङङ् comes, in the sense of Sama-Veda seen, after the word 'Kali', being in the instrumental case in construction.

This debars भण् ॥ Thus कलिना वृट् साम=कालेब ॥ "The Sāma Veda revealed to Kali". This sūtra is really a Vārtika and not a sūtra of Pāṇini.

Vārt.—The affix 'ḍhak' comes always after अग्नि and कर्त्ति; not merely in the sense of Sama-Veda seen. Thus अग्निना वृट् साम=आग्नेयम् 'the Sama-Veda revealed to Agni'. अग्नौ भव=आग्नेयम् 'who stays in Agni' (IV. 3. 53) अग्ने-एणवम् "what has come from Agni" =आग्नेयम् (IV. 3. 74) &c. Similarly कालेबम् means 'the Sama-Veda seen by Kali, he who stays in Kali, what has come from Kali &c.,

Vārt.—The affix भण् is optionally treated as if it had an indicatory इ when the sense is that of Sama-Veda seen. Thus उघ्नसाम वृट् साम=औघ्नसम् or औघ्नसम् (the force of ङिङ् being to elide the ङि portion; VI. 4. 143).

Vārt.—The affix भण् in the sense of 'born', is optionally treated as ङिङ्, provided that it be that भण् which being debarred by IV. 3. 11, is re-ordained by IV. 3. 16. The affix भण् governs all sūtras up to IV. 4. 2 by force of IV. 1. 83.; but it is debarred by ङङ् of IV. 3. 11, and is re-ordained in IV. 3. 16. Thus घतभिषजि ज्ञातः=घतभिषः or घतभिषजः ॥

Vārt.—The affix ईकङ् comes, optionally, without changing the sense, after words ending in तीय ॥ Thus द्वितीयकम् or द्वितीयकम्, तर्तीयकम् or तृतीयकम् ॥

Vārt.—Not so when it qualifies विद्या, as द्वितीया or तृतीया विद्या ॥

Vārt.—The affix वुम् IV. 3. 126 has the force of "Sama-Veda seen" when it comes after a Gotra-word. This औपगवकम् or कापटवकम् 'the Sāma-Veda seen by Aupagava, or Kāpaṭava'. The affix वुम् comes after a word denoting a Gotra or Charaṇa.

वामदेवाङ्, ङ्यङ्, ङ्यौ ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ वामदेवात्-ङ्यत्-ङ्यौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वामदेवघञ्जान् तृतीयासमर्थाद् वृट् सामेत्यस्मिन्नर्थे ङङ् उघ्न उघ इत्येतौ प्रत्ययो भवतः ॥

Kārikā

सिद्धे यत्येतिरूपेण किमर्थं ययतां द्वितौ ।

मह्यं मास्तस्यै भूद्धामदेवस्य नमस्तरे ॥

9. The affixes **उप** and **उ** come in the sense of the Sāma-Veda seen, after the word Vāmadeva, being in the Instrumental case in construction.

This debars **अण्** ॥ Thus वामदेवेन हृष्टं साम = वामदेव्यं or वामदेव्यं ॥ The indicatory **त्** in 'dyat' shows that **व** has svarita accent (VI. 1. 125).

Q. What is the use of the indicatory **त्**?

Ans. The final syllable is elided when a **ङित्** affix is added, by VI.

4. 143.

Q. The final **व** of वामदेव would have been elided without making this affix **ङित्**, by the rule VI. 4. 148, then what is the use of making this affix **ङित्**?

Ans. Well, the author here indicates by jñapakam, the existence of these two maxims of interpretation, viz. Paribhashas निरनुबन्धकमहणे न सानुबन्धकस्य "when a term void of anubandhas is employed, it does not denote that which has an anubandha attached to it". तदनुबन्धकमहणे नातदनुबन्धकस्य "when a term with one or more anubandhas is employed it does not denote that which, in addition to those, has another anubandha attached to it".

For had **व** and **यत्** been only taught instead of 'dyā' and 'dyat', then by rule VI. 2. 156 the final of such word, with the negative particle **अ**, would take udātta on the final, but that is not the case. Therefore अवामदेव्यं is not finally acute, but has acute on the first syllable, taking the accent of the Indeclinable (VI. 2. 2). As अवामदेव्यं ॥

परिवृतो, रथः ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ परिवृतः रथः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वेनेति तृतीयासमर्थात्परिवृत इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति, योसौ परिवृतो रथश्चेत्युच्यते ॥

10. The affix **अण्** comes, after a word in the Instrumental case in construction, in the sense of 'surrounded' the thing so surrounded being 'a chariot'.

Thus वस्त्रेण परिवृतो रथः = वाहः "a chariot surrounded with cloth". So also कान्मलः, चर्मणः ॥ Why do we say 'the thing so surrounded being a chariot'? Observe वस्त्रेण परिवृतः कायः 'the body surrounded with cloth' the word परिवृत means covered from all sides. The affix will not be used if the chariot is not completely surrounded. As छात्रैः परिवृतो रथः ॥

पाण्डुकम्बलादिनि ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ पाण्डु-कम्बलात्-इनिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पाण्डुकम्बलपदान् तृतीयासमर्थात् परिवृतो रथ इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे इनि प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

11. The affix **इनि** comes after the word पाण्डुकम्बल, being in the third case in construction, in the sense of 'surrounded', the thing so surrounded being 'a chariot'.

This debarb अङ् ॥ Thus पाण्डुकम्बली रयः 'a carriage covered with a white woolen blanket'. The word पाण्डुकम्बलम् means the housing of a royal elephant. The form पाण्डुकम्बलिन् would have been obtained by the affix इति of V. 2. 115, the present sūtra is made in order to debar the affix अङ् ॥

द्वैपवैयाघ्रादङ् ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वैप-वैयाघ्रात्-अङ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्विपिण्याभयोर्विकारभूते चर्मणी द्वैपवैयाघ्रे, ताभ्यां कृतीयासमर्थाभ्यां परिवृतो रय इत्येवस्मिन्नर्थे अङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

12. The अङ् comes after the words 'dvaipa' and 'vaiyâghra' being in the third case in construction, in the sense of 'surrounded', the thing so surrounded being 'a chariot'.

Thus द्वैपेन परिवृतो रयः = रयः 'a car covered with a tiger's skin'. So also वैयाघ्रः ॥ This affix अङ् debarb अङ्, the difference between these two being in accent only.

कौमारापूर्ववचने ॥ १३ ॥ कौमार-अपूर्व-वचने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कौमार इत्येतदृष्यस्ययान्तं निपात्यते अपूर्ववचने ॥

Kārikā कौमारापूर्ववचने कुमार्या अण्विधीयते ।

अपूर्वत्वं यदा तस्याः कुमार्या भवतीतिहा ॥

13. The word 'kaumāra' is irregularly formed by adding the affix अण्, when meaning 'virginity'.

Thus कौमारो भर्ता = अपूर्वपति कुमारीमुपपन्नः 'the husband of a virgin'. i. e. one whose wife was given to him in marriage while she was a maid (not a widow). So also कौमारी भार्या = कुमारी अपूर्वपतिः पतिमुपपन्ना "a virgin wife" i. e. a wife who is taken in marriage while she was a maid (not a widow). In both these cases the word refers to the woman.

The word कौमार is formed by adding अङ् to कुमारी ॥ Thus कुमार्याश्च कः = कौमारः; तस्य स्त्री कौमारी भार्या ॥

तत्रोद्धृतममत्रेभ्यः ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्र-उद्धृतम्, अमत्रेभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्रेति सप्तमीसमर्थादमत्रवाचिनः शब्दाद्धृतमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

14. The affix अण् already ordained (IV. 1. 83) comes in the sense of 'placed thereon' after words denoting vessels, when such words are in the locative case in construction.

The word तत्र means, 'thereon' i. e. a word in the seventh case in construction. अमत्रे means 'vessels'; उद्धृतम् means 'placed', or literally the 'refuse

of dinner'. Thus घ्राणवेष्टृतः = घ्राण ओदनः "boiled rice placed on a dish." So also मास्त्रिकः, कार्षः ॥

Why do we say "after a word denoting vessel"? Observe पाणवृत्त ओदनः 'boiled rice placed on the hand'.

The word तच्च, denoting 'a word in the locative case in construction', governs the six subsequent sūtras upto IV. 2. 20 inclusive.

स्थण्डिलाच्छयितरि व्रते ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्थण्डिलात्-शयितरि-व्रते ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्थण्डिलश्चात्समीपसमर्थान् शयितर्यभिधेये यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति, समुदायेन चेद्व्रतं गम्यते ॥

15. The affix अण् already ordained (IV. 1. 83) comes after the word स्थण्डिल being in the seventh case in construction, in the sense of 'a sleeper thereon', and the whole word so formed denotes 'a person performing a vow'.

Thus स्थण्डिले शयितुं व्रतमस्य = स्थण्डिलः 'a person who has taken the vow to sleep on the bare ground' i. e. an ascetic or a Brahmachārī.

Why do we say 'vow'? Observe स्थण्डिले शेते ब्रह्मदत्तः 'Brahmadatta sleeps on the bare ground', not as a matter of vow, but of necessity or pleasure. The word व्रत means a 'vow or an observance ordained by religious codes'.

संस्कृतं भक्षाः ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ संस्कृतम्-भक्षाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तथेति समीपसमर्थ्यासंस्कृतमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति यत्संस्कृतं भक्षाभेदे गम्यते ॥

The affix अण् comes after a word ending in the locative case, to denote 'what is prepared therein'—if that which is so prepared be 'granular food'.

Thus भाट्टे संस्कृता भक्षा = भाटाः 'a cake fried in the pan'. Similarly कालद्याः कौम्भाः ॥ Why do we say "if it means food"? Observe पुष्पपुटे संस्कृतो मालागुणः ॥

शूलोखाद्यत् ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ शूल-उखात्-यत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शूलश्चाद्याद्याद्यत् समीपसमर्थ्यासंस्कृतं भक्षा इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यत् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

17. The affix यत् comes in the sense of prepared food, after the words शूल and उखा ending in the locative case.

This debars मण् (IV. 1. 83). As शूले संस्कृतं = शूल्यं 'roasted on a spit'—i. e. meat. So also ईक्ष्यत् 'flesh boiled in a pot'.

दध्मष्टक् ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ दध्मः-ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शिथिलान् सप्तमीसमर्थ्यासंस्कृतं भक्षा इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

18. The affix ढक् comes, in the sense of prepared food, after the word 'dadhi' ending in the locative case in construction.

Thus दधनि संस्कृतं = दधिकम् 'made of coagulated milk'. This form will be evolved by IV. 4. 3, but the ढक् formed by that rule means दध्ना संस्कृतं i. e. anything prepared or seasoned with curd ; while the दधिकं of this sūtra means 'curd itself seasoned with salt or, pepper'.

उद्भितोऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उद्भितः, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ उद्भित्छत्वात् सप्तमी समर्पान् संस्कृतं भक्षा इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थेऽन्यतरस्यां ढक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

19. The affix ढक् comes in the sense of 'prepared food', optionally after the word उद्भित् ending in the locative case in construction.

Thus औदभित्कम् (VII. 3. 51), or औदभितम् by अण् ॥

क्षीराद्ढम् ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षीरात् ढम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ क्षीराद्यात्सप्तमीसमर्पान्संस्कृतं भक्षा इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ढम् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

20. The affix ढञ् comes in the sense of 'prepared food', after the word 'Kshîra' ending in the locative case in construction.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus क्षीरे संस्कृताः = क्षीरेयी यनागूः 'milky gruel'.

सास्मिन्पौर्णमासीति संज्ञायाम् ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ सा-अस्मिन्-पौर्णमासी-इति संज्ञायाम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सेति प्रथमासमर्पान् अस्मिन्निति सप्तम्यर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति, यत्तत्प्रथमासमर्पे पौर्णमासी चेद्भवति ॥

21. The affix अण् comes after the name of a full-moon-night, to denote the division of time in which the night falls.

The word स means 'that'. It is in the nominative case, therefore by IV. 1. 82 it means that "after a word in the first case in construction". अस्मिन् 'in it' i. e. in the sense of a seventh case. पौर्णमासीति "if the word in the first case in construction is the name of a full-moon night". The word इति after पौर्णमासी is used for the sake of clearness. The word संज्ञायाम् does not occur in the original sūtras of Pāṇini ; but is added by a Vartika ; and means 'if the word so formed is an appellative', i. e. if it is the name of a month, a half-month and a year. The whole sūtra therefore literally translated means "the affix अण् already ordained (IV. 1. 83) comes in the sense of a 7th case affix, after a word in the 1st case in construction, if that word is the name

of a full-moon-night, provided that the whole word so formed is an appellation of a month, a half-month or a year”.

Thus पौषी पौर्णमासी अस्मिन् = पौषो मासः ‘the month Paus i. e. that month in which the moon is full in the asterism Pushya’. Similarly पौषऋतमासः and पौषः संवत्सरः ॥ But not so in the following पौषी पौर्णमासी अस्मिन् दशरात्रे, because daśarātra is not a month or a fortnight or a year.

The words इति and संज्ञायाम् have the same force here, namely, they make the word an appellative. The word संज्ञायाम् added to the sūtra by the Vārtika is a redundancy.

The word पौर्णमासी is formed by adding अण् to पूर्णमास ॥ Or it may be evolved in this way:—पुर्णो माः = पूर्णमा, पूर्णमास इयम् = पौर्णमासी ॥ The word माः means “moon”.

आग्रहायण्यश्वत्थादृक् ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ आग्रहायणी, अश्वत्थात्-ठक् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सास्मिन्नौर्णमासीति सर्वमनुवर्तते । आग्रहायणीशश्वत्थदृक्प्रत्ययस्य प्रथमासमर्थत्वात्तौर्णमास्युपाधि-
काद् अस्मिन्नाति सप्तम्यर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

22. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of the locative case after the words ‘agrahāyaṇī’ and ‘asvattha’ ending in the first case-affix in construction and being the name of a full-moon night.

The words सास्मिन्नौर्णमासीति of the last sūtra govern this also. This debars अण् ॥ Thus आग्रहायणिको मासः ‘the month called Agrahāyaṇika i. e. in which the moon is full in the asterism of Agrahāyaṇa. Similarly आश्वत्थिकः ॥

विभाषा फाल्गुनीश्रवणाकार्तिकीचैत्रीभ्यः ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, फाल्गुनी, श्रवणा-कार्तिकी-चैत्रीभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ फाल्गुन्यादयः पौर्णमासीशशस्तेभ्यो विभाषा ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति, सास्मिन् पौर्णमासीति संज्ञायामित्येतस्मिन् विषये ॥

23. The affix ढक् optionally comes after the words ‘Phālgunī’, ‘Sravana’, ‘Kārtikī’ and ‘Chaitrī’ being the names of full moon nights, the whole word so formed being a Name denoting a division of time (a month, a fortnight or a year) in which the moon is full.

Thus फाल्गुनः or फाल्गुनिकः, श्रावणः or श्रावणिकः, कार्तिकः or कार्तिकिकः, चैत्रः or चैत्रिकः ॥ This optionally ordains ठक् instead of अण् ॥

सास्य देवता ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ सा-अस्य, देवता ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सेति प्रथमासमर्थत्वेति पष्ठमर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति, यत्प्रथमासमर्थे देवता चेत् सा भवति ॥

24. The affix **अण्** (IV. 1. 83) is added to the name of a deity when something is to be spoken of as his.

सा = 'after a word in the 1st case in construction' अत्स्य 'in the sense of a sixth case'. देवता 'if the word in the first case is the name of a deity'. Thus इन्द्रो देवताऽत्स्य = ऐन्द्रम् 'oblation sacred to Indra'. Similarly अदित्यम् 'oblation belonging to Aditya'. So also बार्हस्पत्यम्, प्राजापत्यम् ॥ Why do we say "after the name of a deity"? Observe, कन्यादेवताऽत्स्य, no affix is added to कन्या ॥ In the sentences ऐन्द्रोमन्त्राः and आग्नेयो वै ब्रह्मणो देवतयोति the affix is added by analogy.

The whole phrase साऽत्स्य देवता governs up to sūtra IV. 2. 35. Though the word स was understood in this sūtra by anuvṛitti from sūtra IV. 2. 21, its repetition is for the sake of indicating that the anuvṛitti of संज्ञा does not extend to it. The affix ordained by this sūtra has the force of indicating 'lord of oblations like Puroḍāśa &c offered in a sacrifice'.

कस्येत् ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कस्य, इत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कस्य इकारविधो भवति प्रत्ययसन्निधौ ॥

25. The short इ is the substitute of the final अ of क, when the affix is added.,

Thus क + अण् = कि + अण् = कै + अ = कायं "oblation sacred to Ka". As कायं इविः, कायं ककपालं निर्वपेत् ॥

शुक्राद् घन् ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ शुक्रात्-घन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शुक्रघातात्सात्स्य देवतेत्यस्मिन्नर्थे घ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

26. The affix घन् comes in the sense of "that its deity", after the word 'Sukra'.

This debars अण् (IV. 1. 83). Thus शुक्र + घन् = शुक्रिबन् इविः (VII. 1. 2) 'an oblation belonging to Sukra'. Thus शुक्रियोऽन्धायः ॥

अपोनप्त्रपात्रपुत्र्यां घः ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपः नप्त्, अपाम् नप्त्पुत्र्याम् घः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपोनप्त् अपान्नप्त् इत्येताभ्यां घः प्रत्ययो भवति सात्स्य देवतेत्यस्मिन्निषये ॥

27. The affix घ comes after the words 'aponaptṛi' and 'apannaptṛi', in the sense of 'that its deity'.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus अपोनप्त्रियं इविः or अपान्नप्त्रियम् ॥ The words अपोनप्ता and अपान्नप्ता are the names of two deities; these words irregularly assume the form ending in नप्त् when the affix is to be added.

छ च ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ छ, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपोनप्त् अपान्नप्त् इत्येताभ्यां छकारः प्रत्ययो भवति सात्स्य देवतेत्यस्मिन्निषये ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ छप्रकरणे पैङ्गाक्षीपुत्रादिभ्य उपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ सतश्चाच्छप्रचयः ॥

28. Also 'Chha' is added to 'Aponaptri' and 'Apannaptri' in the sense of 'that its deity'.

The affix छ also comes in the sense of "that its deity" after the word Aponaptri and Apānnaptri. This debarbs भञ् ॥ Thus अपोनपत्रीय or अपान्नपत्रीय 'oblation sacred to Aponapât or Apānnapât'. This is made a separate sūtra, in order to prevent the application of rule I. 3. 10. For if it was included in the last, the sūtra would have run thus: "The affixes च and छ come after Aponaptri and Apānnaptri", the meaning of which according to maxim I. 3. 10 would have been "the affix च comes after Aponaptri, and छ after Apānnaptri". But this is not what the author intended. Hence two distinct sūtras.

Vdt.:—The affix छ comes after the words वैगासीपुत्र &c. As, वैगासीपुत्रीयम्, तार्पयिन्दीयम् ॥

Vdt.:—The word छतरुह takes च and छ both: e.g. छतरुहीयम् and छतरुहियम् ॥

महेन्द्राद् घाणौ च ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ महेन्द्रात्, घ, अणौ च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ महेन्द्राद्घाणौ प्रत्ययो भवतः, चकारच्छच्, सात्य देवतेत्यस्मिन्निषये ॥

29. The affix घ, and अण् as also the affix छ, come after the name Mahendra, in the sense of "this its deity".

As महेन्द्रीयम्, महेन्द्रियम् and महेन्द्रम् 'oblation sacred to Mahendra'.

सोमाद् ट्यण् ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ सोमात्, ट्यण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सोमघाणाद् व्यण्प्रत्ययो भवति सात्यदेवतेत्यस्मिन्निषये ॥

30. The affix ट्यण् comes after the name 'Soma', in the sense of "this its deity".

This debarbs भञ् ॥ The ण् of व्यण् causes Vṛiddhi. The ट् causes the affixing of ङीप् in the feminine. Thus सौम्यं हविः, सौम्यं सूक्तम्, सौमी ऋक् ॥ सौम्य + ङीप् (IV. 1. 15) = सौम्य + ई (VI. 4. 150) = सौमी ॥

वायुवृत्तुपित्रुपसो यत् ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ वायु-ऋतु, पितृ-उपसः, यत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वाय्वादिभ्यः ऋद्धेभ्यो यत्प्रत्ययो भवति सात्यदेवतेत्येतस्मिन्निषये ॥

31. The affix यत् comes after the names 'Vāyu', 'Ritu' 'Pitri' and 'Ushas', in the sense of "this its deity".

This debarbs भञ् ॥ As, वायव्यम्, ऋतव्यम्, पित्र्यम् and उपस्यम् ॥ The form पित्र्यम् is thus evolved पितृ + यत् = पितृ + णीङ् + यत् (VII. 4. 27) = पित्र्यम् (VI. 4. 148). The पित्र्य has udātta on the first syllable by VI. 1. 213.

घावापृथिवीशुनासीरमरुत्वद्गोमवास्तोष्पतिगृहमेधाच्छ च ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ घावा, पृथिवी, शुनासीर, मरुत्वद्, अग्नी-पोम, वास्तोष्पति-गृह, मेधात्-न-छ, च ।

वृत्तिः ॥ व्यावापृयिष्यादिभ्यश्च छः प्रत्ययो भवति सास्य देवतेत्यस्मिन्विषये ॥

32. . The affix छ comes also in the sense of 'this its deity', after the names 'Dyāvâ Prithivî', 'Sunâsîra', 'Maruttvat', 'Agnîshoma', 'Vâstoshpati' and 'Grihamedha'.

This debars अच् &c. Thus व्यावापृयिषीयम् or व्यावापृयिष्यम् 'belonging to the Gods Heaven and Earth'. शुनासीरीयम् or शुनासीर्यम् 'belonging to Suna (Wind) and Sîra (Sun)'. मरुत्पतीयम् or मरुत्पत्यम् ॥ अग्निषोमीयम् or अग्निषोम्यम् ॥ वास्तोष्पतीयम् or वास्तोष्पत्यम् ॥ गृहमेधीयम् or गृहमेध्यम् ॥

अग्ने ढक् ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अग्नेः, ढक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अग्निशब्दाद् ढक् प्रत्ययो भवति सास्य देवतेत्यस्मिन्विषये ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ प्राग्दीप्त्यतीयेषु तद्धितायेषु सर्वनामिकलिभ्यां ढक्प्रत्ययः ॥

33. The affix ढक् comes in the sense of 'this its deity', after the name Agni.

Thus अग्निदेवताञ्च = अग्निदेवताञ्चकपालः ॥

Vart:—The affix 'ḍhak' always comes after the words Agni and Kali, in the various senses of the affixes called Prâgdivyatīya. See IV. 2. 8.

कालेभ्यो भववत् ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ कालेभ्यो-भववत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कालविशेषवाचिभ्यः कालेभ्यो भववत्प्रत्यया भवन्ति सास्य देवतेत्यस्मिन्विषये । कालाद्दृष्टमिति प्रकरणे भवे प्रत्यया विधास्यन्ते ते सास्य देवतेत्यस्मिन्नर्थे तथैवेष्ट्यन्ते, तत्पर्यमिदमुच्यते ॥

34. After words expressive of time, the affixes denoting 'who stays there' (IV. 3. 11 to IV. 3. 53), come also in the sense of 'this its deity'.

Thus by IV. 3. 11 (read with IV. 3. 53), the affix ढम् comes after the words expressive of time, in the sense of 'who stays there'. The same affix will also come in the sense of सास्यदेवता ॥ Thus मासे भव = मासिकम् (मास + ढम् = मास = इक् VII. 3. 50); अर्द्धमासिकम्, सांवत्सरिकम्, वासन्तम् (IV. 3. 16), प्रादृषेण्यम् (IV. 3. 17): meaning 'monthly', 'half monthly', 'annual', 'vernal', and 'rainy'. The words will also mean 'an oblation sacred to a month i. e.' as मासो देवताञ्च मासिकम् ॥ &c.

महाराजप्रोष्ठपदाद्ढम् ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ महाराज-प्रोष्ठपदात्, ढम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ महाराजशब्दात्प्रोष्ठपदशब्दाच्च ढम् प्रत्ययो भवति सास्य देवतेत्यस्मिन्विषये ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ ढम्प्रकरणे तदस्मिन्वर्ततइति नवयज्ञादिभ्य उपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ पूर्णमासाद्ढम् ॥

35. The affix ढम् comes, in the sense of 'this its deity', after the words 'Mahârâja' and 'Proshthapada'.

Thus महाराजो देवताञ्च = महाराजिकम्, प्रोष्ठपरिकम् ॥

Vart.—After the words नवयज्ञ &c the affix इङ् comes in the sense of 'that exists in it'. As नवयज्ञोऽस्मिन् वर्तते = नावयज्ञिकः कालः ॥ So also पाकयज्ञिकः &c.

Vart.—After the word पूर्णमास, the affix अण् comes in the same sense. As पूर्णमासोऽस्यां वर्तते = पौर्णमासी तिथिः 'the day in which the full-moon occurs.'

पितृव्यमातुलमातामहपितामहाः ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ पितृव्य-मातुल-मातामह, पितामहाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पितृव्यादयो निपात्यन्ते ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अवेर्गुण्धे सोऽहसमरीसचोऽवक्तव्याः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ तिलान्निष्कलात्पिञ्जपेजौ प्रत्ययो वक्तव्यौ ॥ वार्तिकम् ॥ पिञ्जश्छन्दसि ङिच् ॥

36. The words 'pitri-vya, a father's brother', 'mātula, a mother's brother', 'mātāmaha, a mother's father' and 'pitāmaha, a father's father' are irregularly formed.

We can infer from these forms, what were the affixes, having what indicatory letters, *employed* in what sense and coming after what cases of the base. Thus if any rules need be formed, we may enunciate the following rules:—पितृमातृभ्यां भ्रातरि व्यङ् जुलचौ "the affixes व्यङ् and जुलच् come respectively after the words pitṛi and mātṛi in the sense of his brother'. Similarly the second rule will be साभ्यां पितरि ङामहच्, मातरि ङिच् 'and the affix ṅāmahach comes, in the sense of their father; and their feminine is formed as if the affix had an indicatory ण् ॥ Thus पितृव्यः, मातुलः, पितामहः (f. पितामही), मातामह (f. मातामही) ॥

Vart.—The affixes सोऽह, इत्, and मरीसच् come after the word अवि, in the sense of 'milk'. As अवेर्गुण्धम् = अविसोऽहम् or अविइत्सम् or अविमरीसम् ॥

Vart.—The affixes पिञ्ज and पेज् come after the word तिल, in the sense of fruitless. As निष्कलस्तिलः = तिलपिञ्जः and तिलपेजः ॥

Vart.—The affix पिञ्ज् is treated like ङित् in the Chhandas. As तिलपिञ्जः ॥

तस्य समूहः ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्य, समूहः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्येति षष्ठीसमर्थात्समूह इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वाचकम् ॥ गुणादिभ्यो घामञ्चक्तव्यः ॥

37. An affix is added to a word, when the sense is 'a collection thereof'.

The affix अण् (IV. 7. 83) already taught, is added to a word in the 6th case in construction, in the sense of collection. What is the example of this? In order to apply the affix अण्, we must apply it to those words only, to which the special rules hereinafter taught do not apply. In other words, the affix अण् is added in the sense of collection thereof, to a word which denotes a conscious being, which has udātta accent on the first syllable, which

does not end with a Gotra-affix, and which is not a word specifically mentioned in the subsequent sūtras. For, a word expressing a non-conscious being, will take the affix इङ् by IV. 2. 47, a word having anudatta on the first syllable will have the affix अङ् IV. 3. 44, a Gotra word will take वुञ् IV. 2. 39 and especial words like कैवार &c take बङ् &c. Making all these exclusions, the example we want is:—काकानां समूहः=काकन् 'a collection of crows' वाकन् ॥ The phrase तस्य समूहः of this aphorism governs all the subsequent sūtras up to sūtra IV. 2. 51 inclusive.

Vart.—The affix घानच् comes after the words गुण् &c. As गुणघानः 'a collection of qualities', करणघानः &c. The following is some of such words:—गुण, करण, तत्त्व, घट्ट, इन्द्रिय, &c. It is an ākṛitigāṇa.

भिक्षादिभ्योऽण् ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ भिक्षा आदिभ्यः, अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भिक्षेत्येवमादिभ्यः षष्ठ्येभ्योऽण् मत्वयो भवति तस्य समूह इत्येतस्मिन्निषेधे ॥

38. The affix अण् comes, in the sense of 'collection thereof', after the words 'bhiksha' &c.

The repetition of the word अण् in this sūtra, though its anuvṛtti was here, is for the sake of removing the operation of any obstructing rule.

Thus भिक्षाणां समूहः=भैक्षन् 'what is collected in the shape of alms'. So also गर्भिणी + अण् = गर्भिण्य् + अण् (the masculine form of a Bha is substituted, when a Taddhita affix follows without an indicatory इ, मत्याहे तद्धिते)=गर्भिणः (VI. 4. 164). In the case of युवति, the word however is not changed to its masculine form. Thus युवतीनां समूहः=यौवतन् 'a collection of young women'.

1 भिक्षा, 2 गर्भिणी, 3 भैक्ष, 4 करीष, 5 अन्नार, 6 चर्मन् (चर्मिन् according to some texts) 7 सहस्र, 8 युवति, 9 पद्माति, 10 पद्मवि, 11 अथर्वन्, (also अर्वन् K.) 12 वृत्तिना, 13 वृत्त, 14 विषय, 15 श्रोत्र, also 16 धर्मिन्

गोत्रोक्षोष्टोरभ्रराजराजन्यराजपुत्रवत्समनुष्याजाद् वुञ् ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ गोत्र,

उक्ष, उष्ट्र, उरभ्र, राज, राजन्य, राजपुत्र, वत्स, मनुष्य-अजाद्-वुञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोत्रादिभ्यो वुञ् मत्वयो भवति तस्य समूह इत्येतस्मिन्निषेधे ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ वृद्धाद्येति वक्तव्यम् ॥

39. The affix वुञ् comes in the sense of 'collection thereof', after a word denoting a patronymic, and after 'ukshan', 'ushtra', 'urabhra', 'rājan', 'rājanya', 'rājaputtra' 'vatsa', 'manushya' and 'aja'.

The word गोत्र is used here in its popular and not technical sense, meaning any descendant or offspring. Thus औपगवकम्, औषकम्, (VI. 4. 144) औष्ट्रकम्, औरभ्रकम्, राजकम्, (VI. 4. 144) राजन्यकम्, राजपुत्रकम्, वात्सकम्, मानुष्यकम्, अजाकम्, ॥ The final य of मनुष्य and राजन्य is not elided when the affix अङ् is added (VI. 4. 150)

Vdt. :—Also after the word वृद्ध ; e. g. वार्द्धक्य 'a collection of old men'.

केदारघञ्च ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ केदारत्, यञ् च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ केदारघञ्चाद् यस्प्रत्ययो भवति, चकाराद् यञ् च, तस्य समूह इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ गणिकायाश्च यम्बकञ्चः ॥

40. The affix यञ् as well as the affix वृञ्, comes after the word केदार, in the sense of 'collection thereof'.

This debars डक् of IV. 2. 47. Thus केदारणाम् समूहः = कैशर्वम् or कैशरिकम् ॥

Vdt. :—The affix यञ् comes after गणिका e. g. गाणिक्यम् ॥

ठञ् कवचिनश्च ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ ठञ् कवचिनः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कवचिनश्चादठम् प्रत्ययो भवति तस्य समूह इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

41. The affix ठञ् comes, in the sense of 'collection thereof', after the word 'Kedâra', and also after the word 'Kavachin'.

Thus कावचिकम् (VI. 4. 144); and कैशरिकम्. We read the anuvṛtti of केदार in this Sûtra, by virtue of the word च

ब्राह्मणमाणववाडवाद्यन् ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ ब्राह्मण, माणव-वाडवात्-यन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ब्राह्मणादिभ्यः घञ्भ्यो यन्प्रत्ययो भवति तस्य समूह इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ यन्प्रकरणे पृष्ठादुपसंख्यानम् ॥ वार्तिकम् ॥ आहुः खः क्रतौ ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ पश्चां णत्वकञ्च्यः ॥ वार्तिकम् ॥ वाताहूतः ॥

42. The affix यन् is added, in the sense of 'collection thereof', after the words 'brâhmana', 'mânava', and 'vâdava'.

The indicatovy न् of यन् makes the word take udâtta accent on the first syllable (VI. 1. 197). Thus ब्राह्मण्यन्, माणव्यन्, वाडव्यन् ॥

Vdt. :—Also after the word वृष्ट e. g. वृष्टयः ॥

Vdt. :—The affix ख is added to अहन्, in the sense of a 'sacrifice'. e. g. अहीनः 'a collection of days of sacrifice'. Otherwise the form is आहुः by मञ् see IV. 2. 45.

Vdt. :—The affix जल् comes after पर्शु, e. g. पार्श्वजम् 'a collection of axes'. The final इ of पर्शु is not changed by guṇa into ओ before the affix, because the word पर्शु is treated as a pada-word (I. 4. 16) and not a Bha-word.

Vdt. :—The affix ऊल is added to वात e. g. वातूलः 'a collection of winds or a mad-man'.

ग्रामजनबन्धुसहायेभ्यस्तल् ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्राम, जन-बन्धु-सहायेभ्यः-तल् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्रामादिभ्यस्तल्प्रत्ययो भवति तस्य समूह इत्येतस्मिन् विषये ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ गजाद्येति वक्तव्यम् ॥

43, The affix 'tal' comes, in the sense of 'collection thereof', after the words 'grāma', 'jana', 'bandhu' and 'sahāya'.

Thus ग्रामता 'a collection of villages'. The words ending in तत्त्व are all feminine. So also जनता 'a collection of persons', बन्धुता 'a collection of relatives', and सहायता 'a collection of allies'.

Vdt:—The affix 'tal' comes after गज also e. g. गजता 'a collection of elephants'.

अनुदात्तादेरञ् ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुदात्तादेः, अञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुदात्तारिः शब्दावम् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्त्व सङ्ग्रह इत्येतस्मिन् विषये ॥

44. The affix अञ् comes, in the sense of 'collection thereof', after the words having anudatta on the first syllable.

Thus कपोतानां सङ्ग्रहः = कापोतव, माहुरन्, तैत्तिरिन् ॥

खण्डिकादिभ्यश्च ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ खण्डिकादिभ्यः च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ खण्डिका इत्येवमादिभ्यः शब्देभ्यो ऽञ् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्त्व सङ्ग्रह इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

Kārikā अमसिद्धिरनुदात्तारिः कोऽर्थः शुद्रकमालवात् ।

गोत्राद्यञ् न च समोच्चं तदन्तान्न च सर्वतः ॥

ज्ञापकं त्याज्यदन्तत्वे तथा चापि श्लेषिभिः ।

सेनायां नियमार्ये च यथा बाध्येत चाम् शुभा ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ शुद्रकमालवात्सेनासंज्ञायात् ॥

45. The affix अञ् comes, in the sense of 'collection thereof' after the words 'Khandika &c.

This sūtra applies to words having anudatta on the first syllable, and being names of non-living things. e. g. खण्डिकम्, वाडवम् ॥

The word शुद्रकमालव is included in this list. It is a Dvandva compound of two words शुद्रक and मालव, denoting tribes of Kshatriyas. The Tadrāja affix अञ् (IV. 1. 168) is elided after the first, and अञ् (IV. 1. 171) after the second word which is a Vṛddham. When these two words form a compound, the acute falls on the final (VI. 1. 223), the initial of this compound is therefore, anudatta : and therefore by the last sūtra IV. 2. 44, this word would have taken अञ् ; where is the necessity of its being included in this list ? It is to exclude the वुञ् of IV. 2. 39 which comes after a Gotra word. But will not the subsequent अञ् (IV. 2. 44) debar the preceding वुञ् (IV. 2. 39) by the rule of paratva ? Moreover, a collection or aggregate of two Gotra words will not be called Gotra, as an aggregate of countries is not called a 'country' for the application of janapada rule, as काशिकोसलीयाः does not take वुञ् and there will not apply tadanta vidhi to the compound word शुद्रकमालव, which ends in a gotra word ? To this we reply, that the fact of the inclusion

of this word in the list, is an indication of the existence of these two rules : (1) that **डुम्** affix supersedes a *subsequent* affix in cases of conflict. Thus **अपिणव** and **कापटव** are anudāttādi words because formed by **अप्** (III. 1. 2), and require therefore **अम्** by IV. 2. 44, but **डुम्** supersedes it, and we have **अपिणव-कम्** and **कापटवकम्** ॥ The second rule is: (2) that in सामूहिक affixes there is tad-antavidhi in spite of the prohibition contained in vārtika under I. 1. 72. As **वानहस्तिकं, गौधेनुकम्** ॥ The complete sentence in the Gaṇapāṭha is **शुद्धकमालवात् सेनासंज्ञायाम्**, the first portion denotes the existence of the above two rules, the second portion **सेना** &c restricts the application of the rule. The affix is added when it is the name of a सेना 'army' and not otherwise. As **सौद्रक-म्यादी सेना**, otherwise **सौद्रकमालवकम्** ॥ The existence of above corollaries is proved by the sūtra of the Grammarian Āpiśālī also **धेनुरनमि ढकमुत्पादयति** 'the affix **ढक्** comes after धेनु in denoting collection thereof, when not preceded by the negative particle नष्ट', therefore, when preceded by any other word, the affix will apply.

1 खण्डिक (खण्डिका K.), 2 वडवा, 3 शुद्धकमालवात्सेनासंज्ञायाम् (a Vārttika to 4, 2, 45), 4 मिश्रक, 5 शुक्, 6 डल्लक, 7 धन, 8 अहन, 9 युगवरण, (वरणा-v. 1.; युग, वरणा K.), 10 हलबन्ध (वग्धा).

चरणेभ्यो धर्मवत् ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ चरणेभ्यः धर्मवत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चरणशब्दाः कठकलापादयः, तेभ्यः षष्ठीसमर्थेभ्यः समूहे धर्मवत् प्रत्यया भवन्ति ॥
वास्तिकम् ॥ चरणाद्धर्माभायोरिति ॥

46. After the name of a Vedic School, the affixes which denote the rule of that School, come also in the sense of 'collection thereof'.

The Vedic Schools or Charaṇas are like कठ, कलाप &c. The affixes denoting the rule of the School are those taught in Sūtra IV. 3. 126 &c. The word धर्म does not occur in the Sūtra IV. 3. 126, or any where else, but it occurs in the following *ishṭi* under that Sūtra :—चरणद्धर्माभाययोः ॥ Thus कठानां धर्म = काठकम्, so also कठानां समूहः = काठकम् ॥ Similarly कालापकम्, छान्दोग्यम्, औक्थिक्यम् and आथर्वण्यम् ॥

अचित्तहस्तिधेनोष्ठक् ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अचित्त-हस्ति-धेनोः-ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अचित्तार्थेभ्यो हस्तिधेनुशब्दाभ्यां च ढक् प्रत्ययो भवति तस्य समूह इत्येतस्मिन्निषये ॥
वास्तिकम् ॥ धेनोरनम इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

47. The affix **ढक्** comes, in the sense of 'collection thereof', after the names of things without consciousness, and after 'hasti' and 'dhenu'.

This debars **अप्** and **अम्** ॥ The अपूपानां समूहः = आपूपिकम् ॥ The affix **ढक्** is replaced by **इक्** (VII. 3. 50) or **क** (VII. 3. 50). Thus हास्तिकम्, धेनुकम्, शाष्ट-कुलिकम् ॥

Vart.—Not so, if the word **येन** is preceded by the negative particle **नञ्** ॥ **As** **भाषेनवञ्** ॥ (See IV. 2. 45).

केशाभ्याभ्यां यञ्छावन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ केश-अभ्याभ्याम्-यञ्-छौ-अन्यतरस्याम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ केश अभ्य इत्येताभ्यां यथासंख्यं यञ् छ इत्येतौ प्रत्ययो भवतो अन्यतरस्यां तत्त्व समूह इत्येतस्मिन् विषये ॥

48. The affixes 'yañ' and 'chha' come optionally in the sense of 'collection thereof', respectively after the words **केश** and **अभ्य** ॥

Thus **केशानां समूहः** = **कैदवञ्** or **कैधिकञ्** (IV. 2. 47), **अभ्यानां समूहः** = **आभ्यञ्** (IV. 1. 63) **अभ्यीवञ्** ॥

पाशादिभ्यो यः ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पाशादिभ्यः यः
वृत्तिः ॥ पाशादिभ्यो यः प्रत्ययो भवति तत्त्व समूह इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

49. The affix 'ya' comes, in the sense of 'collection thereof', after the words **पाश** &c.

Thus **पाश्या**, **तृण्या** &c. These words are feminine.

1 **पाश**, 2 **तृण**, 3 **धून**, 4 **वात**, 5 **अङ्गार**, 6 **पादल** (पादलका K.), 7 **कोत**, 8 **गल**, 9 **पिटक**, 10 **पिटाक**, 11 **शकट**, 12 **हल**, 13 **मद** (नड K.), 14 **वन**. also 15 **बालक**.

खलगोरथात् ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ खल-गो-रथात्-य ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ खलगोरथद्यद्येभ्यो यः प्रत्ययो भवति तत्त्व समूह इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

50. The affix 'ya' comes in the sense of 'collection thereof', after the words '**Khala**', '**Go**' and '**Ratha**'.

Thus **खल्या**, **गय्या** and **रथ्या** ॥ These three words have not been included in the **पाशादि** class, in order that rule IV. 2. 51 should apply to them.

इनित्रकट्यच्च ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ इनि-त्र-कट्यच्चः, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ खलगोरथद्यद्येभ्यो यथासंख्यं इनि च कट्यञ् इत्येते प्रत्यया भवन्ति तत्त्व समूह इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ खलादिभ्य इनिर्वक्तव्यः ॥ **वार्त्तिकम् ॥** कमलादिभ्यः खण्डञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ नरकस्त्रिपुरङ्गाणां स्कन्धञ् प्रत्ययः ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ पूर्वादिभ्यः काण्डः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

51. The affixes 'ini', 'tra' and 'katyach' come in the senses of 'collection thereof', respectively after the word '**khala**', '**go**' and '**ratha**'.

Thus **खलिनी**, **गोत्रा**, **रथकट्या** ।

Vart.—The affix **इनि** comes after the words **खल** &c. Thus **डाकिनी**, **कुण्डलिनी**, **कुटुम्बिनी**, ॥

Vart.—The affix लण्डच् comes after the words Kamala &c. As कमल-लण्डम्, अम्भोजलण्डम् ॥ कमल, अम्भोज, पद्मिनी, कुमुद, सरोज, नलिनी, कैरवणी belong to this class. These are आकृतिगणः ॥

Vart.—The affix स्कन्धच् comes after the words नर, करि, and तुरङ्ग ॥ As, नरस्कन्धः, करिस्कन्धः and तुरङ्गस्कन्धः ॥

Vart.—The affix काण्ड comes after the words पूर्व &c. Thus पूर्वकाण्डम्, तृणकाण्डम्, कर्मकाण्डम् ॥

विषयो देशे ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ विषयः, देशे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समूह इति निवृत्तम् । षष्ठीसमर्थविभक्तिरनुवर्तते । तस्येति षष्ठीसमर्थार्थं विषय इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे व्याविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति, योसौ विषयो देशमेव भवति ॥

52. The affix अण् (IV. 1. 83) comes after a word in the sixth case in construction, in the sense of 'any body's sphere', if a country is indicated by such sphere.

The anuvṛitti of समूहः (IV. 2. 37) does not extend further: but the anuvṛitti of तस्य (IV. 2. 37) is to be read into it. The whole sūtra thus becomes तस्य विषयो देशे 'his sphere—in denoting a country'. The word विषय 'sphere, topic' has many significations. Sometime it means an estate, as विषयो लब्धः 'a village has been acquired'. Some time it means an object of perception, as चक्षु विषयो रूपं 'color is the object of sight &c'. Therefore the word देश has been used in the Sātra, in order to fix the particular meaning of the word विषय ॥

Thus सिबीनां विषयो देशः = सैव: 'The country within the sphere of the Sibi'. So also भौद् &c. Why do we say 'if a country is meant'? Observe देवदत्तस्य विषयोऽनुवाकः ॥

राजन्यादिभ्यो वुञ् ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ राजन्यादिभ्यः, वुञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ राजन्यादिभ्यः शब्देभ्यो वुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति विषयो देशइत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ॥

53. The affix वुञ् comes after the words rajanya &c, in the same sense.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus राजन्यानां विषयो देशः = राजन्यकः, देवायनकः ॥ It is an आकृतिगणः ॥

1 राजन्य, 2 आनृत*, 3 बाभ्र्य*, 4 शालङ्कायन, 5 देवयात (देवयातव; देवयान.), 6 अश्रीड, 7 वरणा*, 8 जालंधरायण, 9 राजायन*, 10 तेलु*, 11 आत्मकामेव, 12 अम्बरीष-पुत्र, 13 वसाति, 14 बेल्वन. 15 शैल्य, 16 उदुम्बर, 17 सीद्*, 18 बेल्वज (बैल्वज) 19 भार्जुनायन, 20 समिय, 21 शक्ति, 22 कर्णनाभ. 23 आप्रीत, 24 बैतिल, 25 वाषक, ॥

भौरिक्याद्यैषुकार्यादिभ्यो विधल्भक्तलौ ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ भौरिक्यादि, येषु-कार्यादिभ्यः, विधल्, भक्तलौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भौतिकविधेः देवकारिभ्यश्च वृत्तसंख्यं विधत् भक्तत् इत्येतौ प्रत्ययो भवतो, विधयो देव इत्येतस्मिन्विधेः ॥

54. The affixes 'vidhal' and 'bhaktal' come respectively after the words 'Bhauriki', and 'Aishukari &c.' in the sense of 'sphere of country'.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus भौतिकविधः, देवविधः &c. देवकारिभक्तः, सारस्वत-यनभक्तः &c.

1 भौतिक, 2 भौलिक, 3 चौपयत्*, 4 चैदयत् (चौदयत्), 5 काजिभ, 6 बाणिज्यक, 7 बालिकाज्य (बाणिकाज्य; बालिज, बालिज्यक), 8 शैकयत् (शैकयत्.), 9 वैकयत्. 10 देवेव.

1 देवकारि, 2 सारस्वतयन (सारसायन), 3 चान्द्रायण, 4 ब्राह्मणायण, 5 वृषासायण (वृषायण), 6 औदायन, 7 औलायन, 8 सादायन, 9 शसनिधि, 10 शसनिषायण, 11 शौद्राव (शौद्रायण), 12 शासायण, 13 सायण्डायन*, 14 सार्यायण, 15 शौभायण, 16 शौवीर, 17 शौवीरयण*, 18 सायण्ड, 19 शौण्ड, 20 सायण्ड, 21 वैश्वमानव, 22 वैश्वधेनव, 23 नड (नर) 24 तुण्डदेव, 25 विण्डदेव (विणदेव and वैण्डदेव), 26 तापिण्डि. 27 शौण्डि, 28 सायण्डि, 29 मलायत, 30 औलाययव.

सोस्यादिवितिच्छन्दसः प्रगाथेषु ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सः, अस्य, आदिः, इति-छन्दसः-प्रगाथेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स इति प्रथमासमर्पादस्येति वृत्तार्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति, यद्यप्यभासमर्थे छन्दससप्तविंशतिः भवति, यत्तदस्येति निर्दिष्टं प्रगाथान्वेष्टे भवन्ति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ छन्दसः प्रत्ययविधानेनपुंसके स्वार्ये उपसंख्यानम् ॥

55. The affix अण् (IV. 1. 83) added to the names of Metres, indicates a Pragātha beginning therewith.

The words of this sūtra require a little explanation. सः 'that' i. e. a word in construction in the first case. अस्व 'its' i. e. this gives the meaning of the affix. आदिः 'beginning'; this qualifies the base or prakṛiti. The word इति is added for the sake of precision. छन्दसः 'after the name of a metre'. This points out the base. प्रगाथेषु 'in the sense of Pragātha'. This qualifies the meaning of the affix. To put it in other words, the sūtra means, that the affix अण् is added to the name of a metre, when that metre is the beginning of a Pragātha, and the whole word so formed means a Pragātha beginning with that metre. Thus पङ्क्ति is the name of a metre, adding अण् to it we get पङ्क्तः which means "a Pragātha beginning with the metre Paṅkti". Similarly आनुष्टुभः, जागृतः &c.

Why do we say "beginning"? If the metre is in the middle or end of a 'Pragātha' the affix will not be employed. Why do we say 'after the

name of a metre'? The affix will not be added to a word which is in the beginning of a Pragātha. Why do we say 'in the sense of a Pragātha'? The affix will not be added, if the metre is the beginning of an Anuvāka &c and not of a Pragātha. Pragātha is the name of a particular kind of Mantra or Hymn. यच्च हे ऋचौ प्रगयनेन तिस्रः कियन्ते, स प्रगायनात् पकर्षणानात् वा प्रगाय इत्युच्यते ॥

Vart:—The affix अण् is added to the name of a metre in a self-descriptive sense without changing the meaning of it; and the word so formed is in the neuter gender. As, त्रैशुभम् 'the metre Trishubha', जागतम् &c.

संग्रामे प्रयोजनयोद्धृज्यः ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ संग्रामे, प्रयोजन, योद्धृज्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रयोजनवाचिभ्यो योद्धृवाचिभ्यश्च सम्भेभ्यः प्रथमासमर्थेभ्योऽस्येति पष्ठपर्यं संग्रामेऽभिधेये यया. विहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

56. The same affix अण् indicates, when it is added to a word which denotes either the object of a battle or the warrior of a battle, a battle fought for that object or by that warrior as a leader.

The phrase सोऽस्य is understood here; showing that the word in construction to which the affix is to be added must be in the first case: and must be the name of the "object" प्रयोजनः, or of the "warrior" योद्धृ ॥ The whole word so formed must denote a 'battle'. Therefore, the word संग्राम gives the meaning of the affix.

This भद्रा प्रयोजनमस्य संग्रामस्य = भाद्रः "A battle fought for Bhadrā". So also सोभाद्रः "a battle fought to gain Subhadrā". Similarly अहिमाला योद्धारोऽस्य संग्रामस्य = आहिमालः 'battle led by Ahimālā warriors' So also स्यान्वन्माभः, भारतः ॥

Why do we say "in the sense of a battle?" Observe सुभद्रा प्रयोजनमस्य संग्रामस्य 'Subhadrā is the object of this gift'. Here no affix is added. Why do we say 'after a word denoting an object or a warrior? Observe, सुभद्रा प्रेक्षिकाऽस्य संग्रामस्य ।

तदस्यां प्रहरणमिति क्रीडायां णः ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्-अस्याम्, प्रहरणम्, इति-क्रीडायाम्, णः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदिति प्रथमासमर्थारस्यामिति सप्तम्यर्थे णः प्रत्ययो भवति. यत्तादिति निर्दिष्टं प्रहरणं चेत्यङ्गवति, यदस्यामिति निर्दिष्टं क्रीडा चेत्सा भवति ॥

57. The affix ण added to the name of a weapon, indicates a game played with that weapon.

The sūtra literally translated means: 'that is the weapon in this, denoting play; the affix ण is added' i. e. to a word in the first case in construction;

denoting the name of a weapon ; ष is added to denote a play. Thus शूराग्रमहर्षणमस्यां क्रीडायां = शूराग्र "a game played with sticks". So मोहा "a game played with fists".

Why do we say 'a weapon'? Observe माला मूषणमस्यां क्रीडायाम् 'the garland is an ornament in this play'. Here no affix is added to माला ॥ Why do we say 'in denoting a game'? Observe:—सदृगः महरण मस्यां सेनायाम् 'the sword is the weapon in this army'. These words are as a rule in the feminine gender (IV. 1. 4 and 15), the feminine being formed by ञा ॥

घञः सास्यां क्रियेति ञः ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ घञः सा-अस्याम् क्रिया-इति-ञः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पञ्चमन्तात्क्रियावाचिनः प्रथमासमर्थारस्यामिति सप्तम्यर्थे स्त्रीलिङ्गे ञः प्रत्यये नभवि ॥

58. The affix ञ, added to a noun of action ending in the affix घञ्, denotes an action occurring in that.

These words are also feminine. The meaning of the words of the aphorism is:—पञ्च: "after a word ending in the affix घञ्"; सा 'that', मस्यां 'in it', the feminine gender shows that the word is also feminine. क्रिया "action"; this qualifies the sense of the affix. To put it in other words, the sūtra means, "After a word ending in घञ्, expressing an action, being in the 1st case in construction, the affix ञ is added in the sense of a 7th case-affix, the resultant word being in the feminine gender".

Thus श्येनपातोऽस्यां वर्तते — श्येनपाता, so also तैलपाता ॥ The nasal is added by VI. 3. 71. Thus श्येनपाता मृगया 'a chase with hawks to bring down or fell the prey'. तैलपाता स्वधा "an oblation to the ancestors in which sesamum is thrown".

The repetition of सास्यां in this sūtra, though its anuvṛitti could have been obtained from the last sūtra, indicates that this is a general rule, and not one confined to "games" only. Thus शूराग्रपातोऽस्यां तियोवर्तते = शूराग्रपाता तियिः; मौसलपाता तियिः ॥

तदधीते तद्वेद ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ तद्-अधीते-तद्-वेद ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदिति द्वितीयासमर्थारधीते वेद इत्येतयोरर्थं चोर्यधाविहितं प्रत्ययो नभवि ॥

59. The affix अण् (IV. 1. 83) comes after a word denoting 'some subject of study', in the sense of 'who has studied that or who understands that'.

In others words, the sūtra means that the affix is added to a word in the accusative case in construction, denoting a person who studies or knows, that. As छन्दोऽधीते = छान्दसः 'who studies Prosody'. वेद्याकरणः (VII. 3. 3) 'who knows grammar'. So also नैदन्तः, नैदिन्तः 'who knows the causes'. भौहृत्स्वः, भौत्स्वः ॥

The word तद् is repeated in this sūtra, in order to show a distinction between one who studies and who understands.

ऋतूक्यादिसूत्रान्तादठक् ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋतु-उक्यादि-सूत्रान्तात्-ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋतुविशेषत्वाच्चिभ्य उक्थादिभ्यश्च सूत्रान्ताच्च ठक्प्रत्ययो भवति तदधीते तद्वेदेत्यस्मिन्विषये ।
अणोपवादः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सूत्रान्तादकल्पादेरिष्यते ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ विद्यालक्षणकल्पान्तादिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ विद्या च नाङ्गक्षत्रधर्मसंसर्गत्रिपूर्वा ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ आख्यानाख्यायिकेतिहासपुराणेभ्यश्च वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अनुसुर्लक्ष्यलक्षणे च ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ इकन्परोच्चारपदान् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ शतपथेऽपि कन् पथो बहुलम् ॥

60. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'one who studies or one who understands', after the name of a sacrifice, after 'uktha &c', and after a stem ending with the word 'sūtra'.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus आग्निष्टोमिकः 'who understands or studies Agnishtoma Sacrifice'. वाजपेयिकः, औक्यायिकः, लौकायतिकः, वार्त्तिकसूत्रिकः, सामहसूत्रिकः ॥

Ishti :—If a word ending in 'sūtra', begins with the word 'Kalpa', the affix अण् is added and not ठक्. Thus : कल्पसूत्रः 'who studies Kalpa-sūtra'.

Vārt :—This affix comes after words ending in विद्या, लक्षण and कल्प, as वायसविद्यिकः, सार्वविद्यिकः, गौलक्षणिकः, आश्वलक्षणिकः, मातृकल्पिकः, पाराशरकल्पिकः ॥

Vārt :—Not so if the word विद्या is preceded by the words अङ्ग, क्षत्र, धर्म, संसर्ग and त्रि ॥ As अङ्गविद्यामधीते = आङ्ग विद्यः, क्षात्रविद्यः, धर्मविद्यः, सांसर्गविद्यः, त्रैविद्यः ॥ All these are formed by अण् and not ठक् ॥

Vārt :—The affix ठक् comes in the same sense after names of stories (आख्यान), narratives (आख्यायिका), and after the words इतिहास and पुराण ॥ As यावक्रीतिकः, प्रैयङ्गविकः, वासवदक्षिकः, सौमनोत्तरिकः, ऐतिहासिकः, पौराणिकः ॥

Vārt :—The affix ल comes in the same sense, after words beginning with सर्व, and स, and after Dvigu compounds. As सर्ववेदः, सर्वतन्त्रः, स्वावर्त्तिकः, ससंग्रहः, द्विवेदः पञ्चव्याकरणः ॥

Vārt :—The affix ठक् comes in the same sense after the words अनुसु, लभ्य, and लक्षण; As अनुसूनाममन्थ स्तमधीते = अनुसुकः, लाक्षिकः, लाक्षणिकः ॥

Vārt :—The affix इकम् comes in the same sense after a compound word ending in पद्; as, पूर्वपदिकः ॥

Vārt :—The affix पिकन् comes diversely in the same sense, after the compound words शतपथ, and षष्टिपथ. As शतपथिकः f. शतपथिकी IV. I. 41), षष्टिपथिकः (f. षष्टिपथिकी). By the force of the word 'diversely' we get the affix अण्, as शतपथः and षष्टिपथः ॥

1 उक्थ, 2 लोकायत, 3 न्याय, 4 न्यास, 5 पुनरुक्त, 6 निरुक्त, 7 निमित्त, 8 विपरा, 9 ज्योतिष (द्विपरी, ज्योतिषि) 10 अनुपद, 11 अनुकल्प, 12 यज्ञ, 13 धर्म, 14 च

चा, 15 क्रनेत्, 16 अक्षय, 17 संविता, 18 परक्रम (पर। क्रम) 19 संपद संपात also संपद) 20 वृत्ति, 21 परिपद, 22 संपद, 23 मज, 24 गुण (गुणागुण st. मज, गुण), 25 भाववै. 26 अनुगुण.

क्रमादिभ्यो धुन् ॥ ६१ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रम इत्येवमादिभ्यः शब्देभ्यो धुन्प्रत्ययो भवति तदधीते तद्देहेत्यस्मिन्निषये ॥

61. The affix धुन् comes, in the sense of "who studies or who knows", after the words 'Krama &c'.

This debars अच् ॥ Thus क्रमकः (VII. 1. 1) परकः &c. The words 1 क्रम, 2 पर, 3 विता, 4 मीमांसा, 5 साम् belong to this class.

अनुब्राह्मणादिनिः ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनु, ब्राह्मणात् इनिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुब्राह्मणशब्दादिनिः प्रत्ययो भवति तदधीते तद्देहेत्यस्मिन्निषये ॥

62. The affix 'ini' comes in the sense of "who studies or who knows", after the word 'anubrāhmaṇa'.

This debars अच् ॥ The word अनुब्राह्मण means 'a book in the imitation of or similar to a Brāhmaṇa book'. He who studies an अनुब्राह्मण is called अनुब्राह्मणिन्, which word is thus declined :—अनुब्राह्मणी, अनुब्राह्मणिनौ, अनुब्राह्मणिनः &c. The affix इनि also has the force of मनुष, and by Sūtra V. 2. 115 अस् इनि उनौ, this word अनुब्राह्मण might have taken both the affixes इनि and डन् in the sense of मनुष; but as a matter of fact, it only takes इनि in that sense.

वसन्तादिभ्यष्टक् ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वसन्तादिभ्यः, ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वसन्त इत्येवमादिभ्यष्टक्प्रत्ययो भवति तदधीते तद्देहेत्यस्मिन्निषये । मजोपवाहः ॥

63. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of "who studies or who knows", after the words 'vasanta &c'.

This debars अच् ॥ As, वासन्तिकः 'who studies the book relating to Spring'. वार्षिकः &c ॥ 1 वसन्त, 2 वर्षा, 3 शरद्, 4 हेमन्त, 5 शिशिर, 6 प्रथम, 7 गुण, 8 चरम, 9 अनुगुण, 10 अपर्वन्, 11 अद्यर्वन् 12 धीज्,

पोक्ताल्लुक् ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रोक्तात्-लुक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रोक्तप्रत्ययान्तादभ्येत्येतिषोडशप्रत्ययस्य लुग्भवति ॥

64. After the title of a work, which is named after the Announcer thereof, the affixes denoting "who studies or who knows that" are elided by 'luk'.

This sūtra may be rendered in the following way also :—" There is लुक् of these affixes after a word ending with an affix denoting announcer". The affixes denoting प्रोक्त or the first propounder are taught in IV. 3. 101 &c. Thus पाणिनिना प्रोक्तम् = पाणिनीयम् 'the system of Grammar enounced by Pāṇini'.

पाणिनीयमधीते = पाणिनीयः, so also आपिचलः ॥ The difference between the word पाणिनीयमधीते meaning the system of Grammar, and पाणिनीयं formed with अण्, meaning whostudies that Grammar, would consist in the accent, and the formation of the feminine. As पाणिनीया ब्राह्मणी ॥ For had there been no elision expressly enjoined by this sūtra, in forming the feminine, ङीप् would be required by IV.1.15, as the word would end in अण्; and the accent of the word would be finally acute (अण् being acute by the universal rule of affix-accent III. 1. 3). But when the affix is elided, the feminine is formed by णप्, the accent is on the middle, owing to the छ affix. (Phiṭ Su II. 19)

सूत्राच्च कोपधात् ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सूत्रात्-च-कोपधात्-(लुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सूत्रवाचिनः ककारोपधादुत्पन्नस्य प्रत्ययस्य लुग्भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ संख्याप्रकृतोपेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

65. The affix denoting "who studies that or who knows that" is elided by luk, after the title of a sūtra work, having क् as penultimate.

Thus अष्टकं is the title of Pāṇini sūtra. Those who study अष्टकं will be called also अष्टकः, as अष्टकाः पाणिनीयाः 'those who study, the Asṭaka'. So also षष्ठाका वेद्याप्रपरीयाः, षिकाः काशकृत्स्नाः ॥

Vartt:—The elision takes place only where the title is formed by a numeral: as in the examples above given. Thus महावार्तिकं सूत्रमधीते = महावार्तिकः, so also कालापकः ॥

Why do we say 'having क् for its penultimate'? Observe चतुष्टयमधीते = चातुष्टयः ॥ This sūtra applies, of course, to those words which are not formed by affixes denoting श्लोक्त or the Announcer.

छन्दोब्राह्मणानि च तद्विषयाणि ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दो-ब्राह्मणानि-च-तत्-विषयाणि-(श्लोक्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्लोक्तग्रहणमनुवर्तते । छन्दांसि ब्राह्मणानि च श्लोक्तप्रत्ययान्तानि तद्विषयाण्येव भवन्ति ॥

66. The affixes denoting the announcer, when added to Chhandas and the Brāhmaṇas, express this relation only.

The word श्लोक्त is to be read into this sūtra. The force of the affixes denoting announcer (IV. 3. 101), when used after a word denoting a Vedic Text or a Brāhmaṇa, is that of expressing "one who studies" or "one who knows". तद्विषयाणि means "this relation", i. e. the subject treated of in this section, namely, the relation of अभ्येतृ or वेदितृ ॥ In other words, the affixes, which ordinarily denote 'announcer', have the force of "one who studies or one who knows" when added to Veda-Text or Brāhmaṇas. That is, a श्लोक्त affix should not be added to a Veda or a Brāhmaṇa, except when an अभ्येतृ or

पेरि affix follows it, and as such latter affixes are always elided by IV. 2. 94, it follows that a प्रोक्त affix when added to a Veda or a Brāhmaṇa, means "he who studies or knows the Veda announced by". In fact there is no affix which can denote merely the announcer of a Veda, perhaps because the Vedas are eternal and no one can be its announcer only, but must be one who has studied it and known it, in order to qualify him to promulgate it.

Thus from the word कठ, the name of a Veda-Text, we get कठा meaning 'those who study or know Kāṭha Veda'. The word is thus formed. To the word कठ we add the affix णिन् denoting announcer, by IV. 3. 104: then we elide it by IV. 3. 107, leaving the bare word कठ, then we add अण्, which again we elide by IV. 2. 64. कठ+णिनि = कठ+O (IV. 3. 107); कठ+अण् = कठ (IV. 2. 64) Plural कठा: "those who study the Veda announced by Kāṭha".

Other examples to illustrate this sūtra are: मूढा: (IV. 3. 101) 'who study the Veda announced by Mūḍa'. पैप्पलादः, भार्वाकिनः (IV. 3. 104) वाजसनेयिनः (IV. 3. 106) "who study the Veda announced by Pippalāda, Richāva, or Vājasaneyā". Similarly with words denoting a Brāhmaṇa-Text. Thus: ताण्डिनः (IV. 3. 104), भास्वकिनः (IV. 3. 105), शाव्यायनिनः (IV. 3. 105) ऐतरेयिनः (IV. 3. 105) "who study the Brāhmaṇas announced by Tāṇḍya, Bhallava, Śātyāyana, or Aitareya".

Why is the word Brāhmaṇa which is also Chhandas, used separately in this sūtra? In order to include only a certain limited number of Brāhmaṇa-Texts to the benefits of this rule, and not all. Thus it will not apply to the Brāhmaṇa announced by Yājñyavalkya. Thus याज्ञवल्क्येन प्रोक्तानि ब्राह्मणानि = याज्ञवल्क्यानि ॥ Similarly सौलमानि ॥ These Brāhmaṇas being of recent origin, the presumption of eternity does not apply to them, See IV. 3. 105.

The word च meaning "and" is employed in the sūtra. It has the force of applying this rule to some other cases not specially mentioned in the sūtra. Thus it will apply to some Kalpa Texts and Sūtra Texts also. Thus काश्यपिनः, कौशिकिनः "who study or know the Kalpa texts announced by Kāśyapa or Kuśika" so also sūtra: as, पाराशरिणो भिक्षवः "the Bhikshus who study the Sūtras promulgated by Parasara". शैलालिनो नदाः कर्मन्दिनः, कृषद्विनः &c.

Why do we say "Chhandas and Brāhmaṇas"? Because the प्रोक्त affix after any other word will have its own significance, pure and simple; as, पाणिनीयं व्याकरणम् ॥ पैप्लीकल्पः ॥

The Quadruply-significant affixes.

तदस्मिन्नस्तीति देशे तन्नास्ति ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ तद्-अस्मिन्-अस्ति-इति-देशे-तत्-नास्ति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदिति प्रथमासमर्थोऽस्मिन्निति सप्तम्यर्थे यथानिहितं प्रत्ययो भवति, यत्प्रथमासमर्थमस्ति चेत्तद्व्रजति, यदस्मिन्निति निर्दिष्टं देशेभ्यस्तन्नामा भवति ॥

67. (An affix is placed after a word expressive of anything) in the sense of—"that thing is in this"—the place taking a name therefrom.

The words of this aphorism require a detailed examination. तद् 'that', i. e. the word in construction to which the affix is to be added must be in the nominative case. अस्मिन् "in this"—this gives the meaning of the affix; अस्ति "is" this qualifies the sense of the base. इति is added merely for the sake of distinctness, serving the same purpose as quotation marks in modern writing. देशे तन्नान्नि "a country having that name"; this qualifies the sense of the affix. The sense is:—"the affixes already taught or to be taught, come after a word being in the nominative case in construction, in the sense of the location, when the whole word so formed denotes the name of a country in which that thing exists".

This sūtra and the three subsequent sūtras are in fact one, though divided into four, for purposes of convenience. The affixes having the sense of these four sūtras, are called चतुर्थिक "quadruple significant".

Thus उदुम्बरा अस्मिन् देशे सन्ति = औदुम्बरः Audumbara--the country in which there are glomerous fig trees. Similarly बाल्वजः, पार्वतः &c. all these words are formed by the universal affix अण् (IV. 1. 83).

This sūtra debars the मत्वर्थीय affixes.

तेन निर्वृत्तम् ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ तेन-निर्वृत्तम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेति वृत्तीयास्योन्निरुक्तमित्यस्मिन्विषये यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

68. After a word in the third case in construction, an affix is added, in the sense of 'completed by him', when the whole word so formed is the name of a country.

The phrase देशे तन्नान्नि of the last sūtra governs this and the two subsequent sūtras. By these four sūtras the names of countries are formed from various substantives. Thus कुशाम्बेन निर्वृत्ता = कौशाम्बी नगरी "the city of Kauśāmbī, completed by Kuśāmba". Similarly साहस्री परिष्ठा "a mote completed by a thousand (gold coins) or persons". A place is named after the means or the person, by which or through whom it is established.

तस्य निवासः ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्य-निवासः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्येति षष्ठीसमर्थान्निवास इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति देशनामधेये गम्यमाने ॥

69. After a word in the sixth case in construction, an affix is added, in the sense of 'his dwelling-place'; the whole word expressing the name of a country.

The sūtra literally means "his dwelling place". A place is sometimes named after the people whose habitation it is. Thus देशः "the country of

the Sibiś", श्रीविहः ॥ कृशुनावाग्निवासी रेवः = आर्शुनावः ॥ The word कृशुनावा = कृश्वी-
नौर्येषां ॥

अदूरभवश्च ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ अदूरभवः-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वा समर्थ विभक्तिमुवर्तत । तस्येति षष्ठीसमर्थारदूरभव इत्यस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्यये भवति ॥

70. And lastly a place is named after whatever is found near it.

In this aphorism the word, to which the affix is to be added, is not shown. The word तस्य must, therefore, be supplied from the last sūtra. It means, therefore, "an affix is added to a word in the genitive case in construction, in the sense of not far off" the whole word being the name of a place. Thus विदिषाया अदूर भव = वेदिषाय is the city in the neighbourhood of which the river Vidiśā flows. So also हैमवतम् ॥

The च has the force of combining the sense of all the three previous aphorisms with this; so that the four sūtras 67, 68, 69 and 70 form but one complete sūtra, and the meaning denoted by these will be understood in the subsequent aphorisms.

ओरस् ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ ओः-अम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपरान्तात्प्रातिपदिकापयाविहितं समर्थविभक्तियुक्तादम् प्रत्ययो भवति, तस्मिन्नास्तीत्येवमादि-
त्यर्थेऽङ् । अणोपवादः ॥

71. The affix अम् comes after a stem ending in उ or ऊ, (in the four-fold senses given above).

This of course debars the universal affix अम् (IV. 1. 83). Thus आरुचम् from अरुच 'a tribe of Kshatriyas'; काशतवम् from कशतु, and कार्कटेलवम् from कर्कट-
देव ॥ But from इक्षु we have इक्षुमती 'the river Ikshumati, named after the sugar-
canes near it'. Here we add the affix मत्तुप् taught in the subsequent sūtra IV. 2. 85, which debars अम् by the rule of a subsequent debarring the prior when both are of equal force (I. 4. 2). The affix अम् governs the six sūtras upto IV. 2. 77. The difference between अम् and अम् consists in the accent.

मतोश्च बहुजङ्गात् ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ मतोः-च-बहुच्-अङ्गात्-(अम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बहुज अङ्गं यस्यासौ बहुजङ्गो मत्तुप् तदन्तात्प्रातिपदिकादम् प्रत्ययो भवति चानुर्यिकः । अणो-
पवादः ॥

72. The affix अम् comes in the quadruple sense after a word which ends in the affix मत्तुप्, and whose stem is polysyllabic.

The word बहुजङ्ग is a compound of बहुच् meaning literally 'many vowels' i. e. polysyllabic, and of अङ्गः meaning stem. A word which, exclusive

of the affix **न्तुप्**, consists of more than two syllables, takes the affix **अम्** ॥ This debars **अम्** ॥ Thus **देवुकावतम्**, **सेधुकावतम्** ॥

Why do we say "after a polysyllabic stem"? Observe **आहिमन्तम्** **यावमन्तम्** ॥ Here though the word **आहिमन्** ends in the affix **न्तुप्**, yet the **अङ्ग** or the stem viz. **आहि**, is a word of two syllables only, hence these words take **अम्** in forming names of countries. In fact, the word **बह्वच्** qualifies the word **अङ्ग**, as it stands without the affix **न्तुप्**, and not the word inclusive of that affix. Therefore **मालावतां निवासः = मालावर्तम्** by **अम्** ॥

बहुचः कूपेषु ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुचः-कूपेषु-(अञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बहुचः प्रातिपदिकादम् प्रत्ययो भवति चातुर्थिकः कूपेष्वभिधेयः ॥

73. The affix **अञ्** comes in the quadruple sense, after a polysyllabic Nominal stem when 'a well' is to be designated.

This debars **अम्**. Thus **दीर्घवरचेण निर्वृत्तः कूपः = दीर्घवरचः** "a well completed by *Dirghavaratra*". So also **कापिलवरचः** ॥

उदङ् च विपाशः ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदङ्-च-विपाशः-(अञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विपाश उत्तरे कूले ये कूपात्तेष्वभिधेयेष्वम् प्रत्ययो भवति चातुर्थिकः ॥

74. The affix **अञ्** comes in the quadruple sense, after any Nominal stem in denoting 'a well' situated on the northern bank of the river *Vipāśā*.

This debars **अम्**; and it applies to all words whether polysyllabic or not. Thus **सत्तः** "a well completed by *Datta*", **गौतः** &c.

Why do we say on the "northern bank"? Because if a well is situate on the southern bank of the river *Vipāśā*, then the affix **अम्** will apply as **सत्तः** and **गौतः**, the difference being in the accent. This *sūtra* illustrates the refined distinctions drawn by the author, and the importance attached to accents in former times.

संकलादिभ्यश्च ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ संकलादिभ्यः-च-(अञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संकल इत्येवमादिभ्यो ऽम् प्रत्ययो भवति चातुर्थिकः । अणोपवाचः ॥

75. The affix **अञ्** comes after the words *sankala* &c, in the above four-fold sense.

This debars **अम्** ॥ The word **संकलः** is equivalent to **संगतः कलः** ॥ Thus **सौकलः**, **पौष्कलः** &c.

1 संकल, 2 पुष्कल, 3 रचाम्, 4 उदुप, 5 उद्वेप (उद्वप), 6 उत्पुद, 7 कुम्भ, 8 निधान (विधान), 9 सुवस, 10 सुदच, 11 सुभूत, 12 सुपूत, 13 सुनेच, 14 सुमङ्गल, 15 सुपिङ्गल, 16 सूत, 17 सिकत (सिकता), 18 पूतिक (पुनिका; पूतीकी), 19 पूलास, 20 कूलास, 51 पलास, 22 निवेस, 23 नवेष,

24 गम्भीर, 25 इतर, 26 आन्, 27 अहन्, 28 लोमन्, 29 वेमन्, 30 वरुण (वरण), 31 बहुल, 32 स-
द्योज, 33 अभिषिक्त, 34 गोहन्, 35 एजम्, 36 मल्ल, 37 मल्ल, 38 नात्. also 39 सर्वन्,
40 श्व, 41 भूत्.

स्त्रीषु सौवीरसाल्वप्राधु ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्त्रीषु-सौवीर-शाल्व-प्राधु-(अण्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्वाप्प्रातिपरिकारम् प्रत्यये भवति आनुपयिकः सौवीरे स्त्रीलिङ्गे हेतुं शाल्वे शाल्वे प्राप्ति ॥

76. So also when the place is situate in the lands of the Sauvīra, or Sālva or of the Eastern people; and the word in these cases is always feminine.

The word सौवीर &c, are attributes of हेतोःतन्नाम्नि (IV. 2. 67): so also the word स्त्रीषु ॥ Thus शाल्वामित्री "the city founded by Dattāmltra" (in Sauvīra). So also वैभूमाम्नी (in Sālva) काकन्नी, नाकन्नी, माणिचरी, आरुषी (in Eastern countries).

सुवास्तुवादिभ्यो ऽण् ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुवास्तुवादिभ्यः (अण्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुवास्तु इत्येवमादिभ्यो ऽण् प्रत्यये भवति आनुपयिकः ॥

77. The affix अण् comes after the words सुवास्तु &c, in the four-fold sense.

This debars the affix अण् which would have otherwise come by IV. 2. 71 and 73. Thus सुवास्तोरसूरमर्षे नगरं=सौवास्तवम् ॥ So also वार्णवम् ॥ The use of the word अण्, though its anuvṛtti came from IV. 1. 83, is for the sake of indicating that this sūtra debars sūtra IV. 2. 85. Thus सौवास्तवी नदी ॥

1 सुवास्तु, 2 वर्णु, 3 अण्डु, 4 खण्डु (कण्डु), 5 सेवानिन् (सेवान्निन्), 6 कर्णुन्, 7 शिखण्डिन्, 8 गर्तं, 9 कर्कश, 10 एकटीकर्ण (एकीकर्ण), 11 कृष्णकर्ण (कृष्ण), 12 कर्क, 13 ककण्ठमयी (कर्कण्ठ), 14 गोह (गोह्य and गार्हि), 15 महिसव्य 16 वृत् ॥

रोणी ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ रोणी-(अण्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रोणीसम्प्रादण्प्रत्यये भवति आनुपयिकः ॥

78. The affix अण् comes after राणे in the fourfold sense.

This debars अण् of IV. 2. 74. This sūtra consists of one word रोणी in the nominative case. As a general rule all words to which affixes are to be added are put in the ablative case in these sūtras. The fact of this exceptional treatment of the word रोणी indicates that this word takes अण् under all circumstances, whether alone, or forming part of a compound. In fact, the nominative case in this sūtra is a very ingenious explanatory artificiality. Thus रोणः, आजकरोणः or सैहिकरोणः

कोपधाद्य ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ कोपधात्-च्-(अण्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ककापेपधाद्य प्रातिपरिकारम्प्रत्यये भवति आनुपयिकः ॥

79. The affix **अण्** comes in the fourfold sense after a stem having **क्** for its penultimate.

This debars **अम्** which would have come by IV. 2. 71 and 73. Thus **कार्णच्छिद्रिकः कूपः ॥ कार्णवेदकः ॥ कार्कवाकवम्, वैशङ्कवम् ॥**

**बुञ्छण्कठजिलसेनिरदञ्णययफक्फिभिञ्ज्यकठको ऽरीहणकृशाभ्वश्यकुमुद-
काशतृणप्रेक्षाश्मसखिसङ्काशबलपक्षकर्णसुतङ्गमप्रगदिन्वराहकुमुदादिभ्यः ॥ ८० ॥
पदानि ॥ बुञ्-छण्-क-ठञ्-इल्-श-इनि-र-ठञ्-ण-य-फक्-फिप्-इञ्-ज्य-क-ठको-; अ-
रीहण-कृशाभ्व-ऋश्य-कुमुद-काश-तृण-प्रेक्ष-श्म-सखि-सङ्काश-बल-पक्ष- कर्ण- सुत-
ङ्गम-प्रागदिन्-वराह-कुमुदादिभ्यः ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ बुम्प्रत्ययः सप्तदश प्रत्यया, अरीहणादयोऽपि सप्तदशैव प्रातिपदिकगणाः । आदिछण्डः प्रत्येकानि संबध्यते । तत्र यथासख्यं सप्तदशभ्यः प्रातिपदिकगणैः सप्तदश प्रत्यया भवन्ति चानुर्यिकाः ॥ यथाः—

- (1) अरीहणादिभ्यो बुम् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (2) कृशाभ्वादिभ्यश्छण्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (3) ऋश्यादिभ्यः कः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (4) कुमुदादिभ्यश्चप्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (5) काद्यादिभ्य इल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (6) तृणादिभ्यः ञः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (7) प्रेक्षादिभ्य इनिप्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (8) अश्मादिभ्यो र प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (9) सख्यादिभ्यो ङम् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (10) संकाद्यादिभ्यो ण्य प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (11) बलादिभ्यो यः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (12) पक्षादिभ्यः फक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (13) कर्णादिभ्यः फिप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (14) सुतङ्गादिभ्य इम् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (15) प्रगदिन्नादिभ्यो ज्यः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (16) वराहदिभ्यः कक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (17) कुमुदादिभ्यश्चक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

80. In the above four senses are added the following 17 affixes after the following 17 classes of words respectively :—

1. बुञ् (=भक्) after अरीहण &c. 2. छण् (=ईय) after कृशाभ् &c. 3. क after ऋश्य &c. 4. ठक् (=हर्क) after कुमुद &c. 5. इल् after काद्य &c. 6. स (or ञ) after तृण &c. 7. इनि (=इन्) after प्रेक्ष &c. 8. र after अश्मन् &c. 9. ङम् (=एय) after सखि &c. 10. ण्य (=य) after संकाद्य &c. 11. य after बल &c. 12. फक् (=भायर्न) after पक्ष &c. 13. फिप् (=भायनि), after कर्ण &c. 14. इम् (इ) after सुतङ्गम् &c. 15. ज्य (य) after प्रगदिन् &c. 16. कक् (कै) after वराह &c. 17. चक् (हर्क) after कुमुद &c.

The above affixes बुम् &c. are applied to the above classes of words. आदि is to be added to every one of the above seventeen words. The first part of the sūtra upto ठक् gives the seventeen affixes, and the latter part gives the seventeen word-class. The allotment or assignment of affixes is made by I. 3. 10.

The examples of the above are :—

- (1) अरीहणकम्, द्वीपणकम् (2) कार्णाक्षिकः, आरक्षीयः, (3) ऋश्यकः, न्यमोधकः, (4) कुमुदिकम्, शक्करिकम्, (5) वार्धिलम्, कार्धिलम्, (6) तृणतः, नडतः, (7) प्रेक्षिन्, हलकिन्, (8) अश्मरः, (9) सखियम्, सखिदस्तेयम्, 10 सांकाध्यम्, काम्पित्यम्, (11) बल्यः, कर्तव्यम्, (12) पाशायनः, तोषायनः, (13) कार्णायनिः, सखिषायनिः, (14) सुतङ्गनिः, भौतिषिस्तिः, (15) प्राणय (16) वराहकम्, पालाशकम्, and (17) lastly कौमुदिकम् ॥

The word शिरीष will be seen, by referring to the above lists, to occur in three classes viz अरीहणारि, (36), कुशारि (14), and वराहारि (3). Moreover it is governed by the general affix अण् also in the quadruple sense, according to the opinion of Patanjali. And because it occurs in the वरणारि class (IV. 2. 82), therefore this universal अण् (IV. 1. 83) will be elided after it. As we have already shown before under I. 2. 51 when शिरीषवन् was formed from शिरीषाः ॥

1 अरीहण, 2 कुपण, 3 दुहण*, 4 भगल, 5 डलन्, 6 किरण, 7 सांपरायण, 8 क्रोष्टायण, 9 औष्टायण*, 10 वेगर्तायन, 11 भेजायण, 12 भाज्यायण, 13 वेमतायन (also वेमस्तायन), 14 गौमतायन (गौ), 15 सौमतायन, 16 सौसायन, 17 धौमतायन*, 18 सौमायन*. 19 ऐन्द्रायण*, 20 कौन्दायण*, 21 खाडायन, 22 छाण्डिल्यायन, 23 रायस्वोष, 24 विषय, 25 विषाद्य, 26 डरण्ड, 27 डरण्वन, 28 खाण्डवीरण (खाण्ड), 29 वीरण, 30 काणकृत्स्न (कच.), 31 जाग्ववस (वन्त), 32 शिघपा, 33 रेवत (रेवत), 34 विल्व (वैल्व K.) 35 सुयज्ञ, 36 शिरीष, 37 बधिर, 38 जम्बु, 39 खरि, 40 सुधर्मन् (सुधर्म K.), 41 हलतृ*, 42 भलन्वन्*, 43 खण्डु*, 44 कनल* (कलन), 45 वज्रहस्त*. 46 सार, 47 वेगर्तायण (aic) and 48 खाण्डायन.

1 कृषाम्ब, 2 अरिट, 3 अरिहम (अरीम्ब), 4 वेदमन्, 5 विद्याल, 6 लोमघ*, 7 रोमघ*, 8 रोमक, 9 लोमक*, 10 घबल, 11 कूट, 12 बर्चल*, 13 सुर्चल*, 14 सुकर, 15 सूकर, 16 प्रतर (प्रातर), 17 सह्य, 18 पुरग, 19 पुराण*, 20 सुख, 21 धूम, 22 अजिन, 23 विनत (विनता, वनिता), 24 अवनत, 25 विकुम्भास (v. l. कुविद्यास; विकुपास), 26 पराघर*, 27 अरुस्, 28 अवस्*, 29 नौद्र-स्व, 30 दूकर* (नौद्रस्याकर). 31 रोमन्, 32 बर्बर, 33 अवयास and अबावस्

1 कद्व, 2 न्यमोध, 3 घर (शिरा), 4 मिलीन, 5 निवास, 6 निवात, 7 निधान, 8 निबन्ध (v. l. निबन्धन; निबद्ध), 9 विबद्ध, 10 परिगृह, 11 उपगृह, 12 असनि, 13 सित, 14 गत*, 15 वेदमन्*, 16 उत्तरादमन्, 17 अदमन्*, 18 स्थूल, 19 बाहु (स्थूलबाहु), 20 खरि, 21 शर्करा, 22 अनदुह, 23 अरुडु*, 24 परिवंघ, 25 वेजु, 26 वीरण, 27 खण्ड, 28 रण्ड*, 29 परिवृक्ष, 30 कर्मन, 31 अंशु.

1 कुमुद, 2 शर्करा, 3 न्यमोध, 4 इकट (इल्कट, उल्कट), 5 सङ्कट, 6 कङ्कट, 7 गर्त, 8 बीज, 9 परिवाप, 10 निर्यास*, 11 शकट*, 12 कच*, 13 मधु*, 14 शिरीष, 15 अम्ब*, 16 अम्भरथ, 17 बल्बज, 18 यवाष, 19 कूप, 20 विकङ्कत, 21 द्यमान. 22 कण्टक, 23 पलाश, 24 चिक, 25 कत.

1 काद्य, 2 पाद्य (वाद्य), 3 अम्भरथ, 4 पलाश, 5 पीयूषा (पीयूष), 6 चरण, 7 वास, 8 नड, 9 वन, 10 कर्मन, 11 कण्डूल*, 12 कङ्कट, 13 गुहा, 14 विस (विद्य and विस), 15 वृण, 16 कर्षूर, 17 बर्बर*, 18 मधुर*, 19 मह (गुह) 20 कपित्थ*, 21 अतु, 22 सीपालः. 23 नर, 24 कंटक.

1 वृण, 2 नड, 3 मूल*, 4 वन, 5 पर्ज, 6 वर्ज, 7 वराण*, 8 बिल*, 9 पुल*, 10 कल*, 11 अर्जुन*, 12 अर्ज, 13 सुवर्ण*, 14 बल, 15 चरण, 16 वृत्त. 17 जन, 18 लघ.

1 मेशका, 2 हलका (फलका), 3 बन्धुका. 4 ध्रुवका, 5 सिपका 6 न्यमोध, 7 इकट (इर्कट) 8 कङ्कट (कर्कटा), 9 संकट, 10 कट*, 11 कूप*, 12 बुक*, 13 पुक*, 14 पुट*, 15 मह (महा), 16 परि-वाप*, 17 यवाष* (d.i. यवास), 18 ध्रुवका*, 19 गत*, 20 कूपक (कूपका) 21 हिरण्य*. 22 बुधका, 23 सुकटा, 24 मङ्कट, 25 बुक.

1 अदमन्, 2 श्य (also शुष), 3 कष (कष and रुष), 4 मीन, 5 नड, 6 वर्म, 7 वृन्, 8 गुर*, 9 खण्ड, 10 नग, 11 शिला, 12 कोट (काट), 13 पान (पान!), 14 कन्*, 15 कान्*, 17 गङ्ग*, 18 शुड*, 19 कूडल*, 20 पीन*. 21 मह*.

1 सखि, 2 अग्निदत्त, 3 वायुदत्त, 4 सखिदत्त, 5 गोपिल (गोहिब and गोहिल), 6 मल्ल
7 पल (मल्लपाल st. मल्ल, पाल), 8 चक्र (चर्क), 9 चक्रवाक*, 10 छगल, 11 भद्योक, 12 करवीर,
13 वासव*, 14 वीर*, 15 पूर*, 16 वज्र*, 17 कुशीरक*, 18 सोहर (शोहर; सोकर), 19 सरक (सकर),
20 सरस, 21 समर*, 22 समल, 23 सुरस, 24 रोह, 25 तमाल, 26 कदल, 27 सप्तल, 28 चक्रपाल,
29 चक्रवाल, 30 वक्रपाल, 31 वशीर ॥

1 संकाश, 2 कम्पिल, 3 कम्भीर (कम्भर), 4 समीर, 5 सूरसेन (शूर), 6 सरक*, 7 सूर*, 8
सुपान्यन् (rightly सुपयिन्), पन्थ (सक्य!) च, 9 शृप (शृध), 10 अंघ, 11 अङ्ग*, 12 नासा*, 13
पलित*, 14 अनूनाश*, 15 अम्भन्, 16 कूट, 17 मलिन, 18 दृष, 19 कुम्भ*, 20 क्षीरे*, 21 विरत
(चिरन्त; विरत!), 22 समल*, 23 सीर*, 24 पञ्जर*, 25 मन्थ*, 26 नत*, 27 रोमन*, 28 लोमन्*,
29 पुलिन*, 30 सुपरि*, 31 कटिप*, 32 सकर्णक*, 33 वृष्टि*, 34 तीर्थ, 35 अगस्ति, 36 विकर*,
37 नासिका, 38 एग, 39 चिकार, 40 विरह,

1 बल, 2 पुल (बुल), 3 मल*, 4 दल*, 5 वट*, 6 लकुल*, 7 डरल*, 8 पुल*, 9 मूल*,
10 डल, 11 डुल, 12 वन, 13 कुल, 14 तुल, 15 कवल,

1 पश, 2 तुष*, 3 तुष, 4 कुण्ड*, 5 अण्ड, 6 कम्बलिका (कम्बार्निक), 7 वलिक*, 8 चिच
9 अस्ति*, 10 पयिन् पन्थ च (also पान्थायन), 11 कुम्भ, 12 सीरक (सीरज), 13 सरक, 14 सकल
(सलक), 15 सरस, 16 समल, 17 अतिद्वन् (स्वन्). 18 रोमन्, 19 लोमन्, 20 हस्तिन्*, 21 मकर*,
22 लोमक, 23 क्षीरे*, 24 निवात*, 25 पाक*, 26 सिंहक, 27 अकुष*, 28 सुवर्णक, 29 हंसक
(हंसका), 30 हंसक*, 31 कुत्स*, 32 बिल*, 33 खिल*, 34 दमल, 35 हस्त, 36 कला*, 37 सकर्णक
(सकण्डक), 38 अदमन्, 39 अस्तिबल ॥

1 कर्ण, 2 वसिष्ठ, 3 अर्क, 4 अर्कलूष (लूष), 5 द्रुपर (द्रुपर), 6 आनदुह्य (अन), 7 पाञ्चजन्म,
8 स्फिञ्ज, 9 कुम्भी*, 10 कुन्ती*, 11 जित्स्वन् (जित्स्व), 12 जीवन्त (जीवन्ती), 13 कुलिश, 14 आण्डी-
वन्त (आण्डीवन्), 15 जव*, 16 जव*, 17 आनक*, 18 अलुघ, 19 शल, 20 स्थिरा ॥

1 सुतगम, 2 मुनिचित (चित्), 3 विप्रचित (चित्), 4 महाचित्*, 5 महापुत्र, 6 स्वन*,
7 श्वेत, 8 खडिक (गडिक) 9 शुक्र, 10 विम, 11 वीजवापिन्, 12 अर्जुन, 13 दवन्, 14 अजिर,
15 जीव, 16 खण्डिन*, 17 कर्ण*, 18 विमह*,

1 प्रगदिन्, 2 मगदिन्, 3 मरदिन् (शरदिन्), 4 कविल (कलिव), 5 खण्डित (खडिव),
6 गदित (गदिव), 7 चूडार, 8 मडार (मार्जार), 9 मन्त्रार*, 10 कोविदार ॥

1 वराह, 2 पलाश, 3 शिरीष, 4 पिनङ्ग, 5 निबङ्ग, 6 बलाह*, 7 स्थूल (स्थूण), 8 विदग्ध,
9 विजग्ध, 10 विभग्ग, 11 निमग्ग*, 12 बाहु, 13 खरि, 14 शर्करा, 15 विनङ्ग, 16 विरुङ्ग, 17 मूल ॥

1 कुमुद, 2 गोमय, 3 रथकार, 4 दृषाम, 5 अम्बरथ, 6 शालमलि (ली), 7 शिरीष, 8 मुनि-
स्थल, (स्थूल), 9 कुण्डल, 10 कूट, 11 मधूकर्ण, 12 पासकुन्द*, 13 शुचिकर्ण, 14 मुचुकर्ण, 15 कुन्द ॥

जनपदे लुप् ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ जनपदे लुप् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ देशे तन्नाम्रीति यश्चानुरार्थिकः प्रत्ययो भवति, तस्य देशविशेषे जनपदेऽभिधेये लुप्भवति ॥

81. The name of a kingdom is formed by the
lup elision of these affixes, (when the name of the people
without the change of number and gender, is at the same time
the name of the kingdom).

The words within bracket in the above sūtra are added by the read-
ing together of this sūtra with sūtra I. 2. 51. Dr. Otto Böhtlingk the learned

translator of Pāṇini in German, has done so, and I think this addition is necessary for the elucidation of the sūtra. 'The aphorism literally means : (The quadruply significant affix) is elided, when the *place* (देश) to be named is a kingdom (जनपद). Thus पंचालानां निवासो जनपदः=पंचालः । So also कुरुक्षेत्रः, अश्विनः, वज्रः, नगपाः, सुहृद्, पुण्ड्रः ॥

Why is there no lup-elision of the affix in the following examples : ओतुम्बरो जनपदः 'the Kingdom in which there are fig-trees'. देशो जनपदः &c ? Because here the words ओतुम्बरः and देशः are not *names* of Kingdom, but are used merely as epithets. In fact the phrase सन्नाम्नि is understood here also.

वरणादिभ्यश्च ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ वर्णादिभ्यश्च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वरण इत्येवमादिभ्यश्च इत्यन्तत्वं चानुसर्गिकत्वं प्रत्ययत्वं लुप् भवति ॥

82. Also after the word वरण &c, the affix denoting locality becomes elided, but the number and gender are not changed.

After the words वरण the quadruply significant affix is elided by लुप् ॥ The origination of this rule is for the sake of what is not a kingdom (or जनपद), to which the last rule applies. Thus वरणानाम्पूरनधे नगरः=वरणाः "the city (not a kingdom) not far from the place Varanā", So also वृद्धी, शात्मलः ॥

The word च in the sūtra implies that this rule applies even to words other than those which are given in the list of वर्णानि ॥ As कटुकवदरी "a city near to bitter Badari tree".

1 वरणा, (वरण), 2 वृद्धी, 3 शात्मलि, 4 पुण्ड्री, 5 चयाण्डी, 6 पर्णी, 7 ताम्रपर्णी, 8 गोह (पूर्वो गोहो, पूर्वेषु गोहो, अपरेण गोहो), 9 आलिङ्गपायन, 10 आनपरी (आलपरी; आलप) 11 अम्बु, 12 पुण्ड्र, 13 चम्पा, 14 पम्पा, 15 बल्यु, 16 उज्जयिनी (उज्जयिनी), 17 गया, 18 मधुप, 19 तक्षशिना, 20 उरसा (उरसा) 21 गोमती, 22 बलमी, 23 कटुकवदरी (with कटुक), 24 शिरीषाः 25 काञ्ची, 26 सहाण्डी, 27 वणिकि, 28 वणिक, Is an आकृष्टिगण ॥

शर्कराया वा ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ शर्करायाः-वा (लुप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शर्करायाश्चानुसर्गिकत्वं प्रत्ययत्वं वा लुप् भवति ॥

83. Optionally after the word शर्करा, the quadruply significant affix is lup-elided.

Why do we say "Optionally"? The word शर्करा occurs in the classes कुक्षि-हादि (2) and वराहादि (14) (IV.2.80 classes 4 and 16), and must necessarily take the affixes डक् and कक् taught therein: for had it not taken those affixes absolutely, their would have been no necessity of inserting this word in those classes. The present rule, therefore, teaches by implication, that the word शर्करा takes the general affix अक्, besides the above two especial affixes, denoting locality

And when the word takes this universal affix (IV 1. 83), there the option is allowed, not otherwise. Thus शर्करा + मन् = शर्कराम्, शर्करा + मन् तुप् = शर्करा ॥

ठक्छौ च ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ठक्-छौ-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शर्करायाद्भादठक् छ इत्येतौ प्रत्ययो भवत आतुर्यिकौ ॥

84. The affix ठक् and छ come after the word शर्करा in the quadruple sense.

Thus of the word शर्करा there are altogether six forms denoting locality, namely two formed by this sūtra, two by the last, and two by the sūtra IV. 2. 80. Thus शर्करा, शर्कराम्, शर्करिकम् (formed by ठक्), शर्करिकम् (formed by कक्), शर्करिकम् (formed by ठक्), and शर्करियम् (by छ).

नद्यां मतुप् ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ नद्याम्-मनुप् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नद्यामभिधेयायां मतुप्प्रत्ययो भवति आतुर्यिकः ॥

85. The affix मतुप् is added in denoting a river.

When the name of a river is to be designated by something which is found near it, we add the affix मतुप् (मत् and वत्). Thus रुन्मरवती, मघकावती, शीरषावती, पुष्करावती, इक्षुमती, हुमती ॥ See VI. 3. 119 by which the म् is lengthened in these words, and VI. 1. 219 by which the udatta is placed on this vowel. See VIII. 2. 10 by which मत् becomes वत् ॥

The affix मतुप् is not however employed in forming the river-names भागीरथी and भैरवथी, which are formed by मन् added under IV. 2. 68.

मध्वादिभ्यश्च ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ मध्वादिभ्यः-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मधु इत्येवमादिभ्यः चण्डेभ्यो मतुप्प्रत्ययो भवति आतुर्यिकः ॥

86. The affix मतुप् is added to the words मधु &c in the four senses given above.

The origination of this rule is for the sake of what is not a river. As मधुमान्, विसद्यान् &c.

1 मधु, 2 बिस, 3 स्यापु, 4 वेणु, 5 कर्कन्धु, 6 शमी, 7 कीर (कीरी) 8 हिन, 9 किशरा, 10 शर्करा (शर्करा) 11 मरु, 12 चार्कली, 13 चार, 14 इटका, 15 आसुति, 16 चक्ति, 17 आसन्दी, 18 चकन, 19 चालका, 20 आनिषी (आनिषी) 21 इक्षु, 22 रोमन्, 23 रुटि (मुटि रुटि) 24 रुच्य 25 तक्षणिन्, 26 खड (खडा) 27 वट, 28 वेद (वेदा) 29 रम्य, 30 कृष्ण, 38 मरु, 32 शर्वापाद.

कुमुदनडवेतसेभ्यो इमतुप् ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुमुद-नड-वेतसेभ्यः-इमतुप् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुमुद नड वेतस इत्येतेभ्यः चण्डेभ्यो इमतुप् प्रत्ययो भवति आतुर्यिकः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ महिषाचोति वक्तव्यम् ॥

87. The affix इमतुप् comes after the words कुमुद, नड and वेतस, in the above four senses, and the final of these words is elided before this affix.

Thus कुमुदान्, नडान्, वेतस्वान् ॥

Vart.—So also after the word महिष, as महिष्मान् ॥

नडशादाद् डुलच् ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ नड-शादात्-डुलच् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नडशादृच्छांश्च डुलच् प्रत्ययो भवति चानुरार्थिकः ॥

88. The affix डुलच् comes after नड and शाद in the four senses given above, the final of the words being elided.

Thus नडुलम् and शादुलम् ॥

शिखायां वलच् ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ शिखाया-वलच् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शिखायादृच्छांश्च वलच् प्रत्ययो भवति चानुरार्थिकः । यथासंभ्रमपर्यसंबन्धः ॥

89. The affix वलच् comes after the word शिखा in the above four-senses.

Thus शिखावलम् 'the city Sikhā-vala' lit. 'crested as a peacock'. The word शिखा takes वलच् by V. 2. 111, the affix having the same force as ननुश् V. 2. 94, ('whose it is' or 'in whom it is'). That वलच् should be distinguished from the present, in as much as, the latter is employed in making names of locality, not so the affix taught in Book V.

उत्करादिभ्यश्छः ॥ ९० ॥ पदानि ॥ उत्करादिभ्यः-(छः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उत्कर इत्येवमादिभ्यश्छः प्रत्ययो भवति चानुरार्थिकः ॥

90. The affix छ comes after the words उत्कर &c, in the four senses:

As उत्करीयम्, शकरीयम् ॥

1 उत्कर, 2 संकल, 3 शफर, 4 पिप्पल, 5 पिप्पलीमूल, 6 अश्वमेध, 7 सुवर्ण (सुवर्ण) 8 श्वलाञ्जि-
न, 9 तिक, 10 कितव, 11 अणक*, 12 वैवण*, 13 पिचुक, 14 अश्वत्थ, 15 काश, 16 शुङ्ग (शकंशुङ्ग
st. काश, शुङ्ग) 17 भस्त्रा, 18 घाल, 19 जन्त्रा, 20 अजिर (अजिन) 21 चर्मन्, 22 उत्क्रीषा, 23 शान्त
(शान्त) 24 खरि, 25 शूर्पणाव, 26 दयावनाय, 27 नैवाकव (नैव, बक) 28 तृण*, 29 वृक्ष*
30 शाक*, 31 पलाश, 32 विजिगीषा*, 33 अनेक, 34 आतप, 35 कल*, 36 सं-
पर*, 37 अर्क, 38 गर्त, 39 अग्नि, 40 वैराणक*, 41 इडा, 42 अरण्य, 43 निद्यान्त*, 44 पर्ष, 45 नीचा-
यक*, 46 शंकर, 47 अवरोहित, 48 भार*, 49 विशाल, 50 वेच, 51 अरीहण*, 52 खण्ड, 53 वातागद
54 मन्त्रणर्ह*, 55 इन्द्रवृक्ष, 56 नितान्तवृक्ष, (नितान्तवृक्ष; नितान्त, वृक्ष) 57 भार्गवृक्ष. 58 तृणव, 59
शान्य, 60 मञ्ज, 61 अर्जुनवृक्ष.

नडादीनां कुक् च ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ नडादीनाम्, कुक्-च (छः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नड इत्येवमादीनां कुगागनो भवति, छश्च प्रत्ययश्चानुरार्थिकः । यथासंभ्रमपर्यसंबन्धः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ कूष्माया ह्रस्वत्वंच । तक्षन्लोपश्च ॥

91. The augment कुक् comes after the words नड &c, when the affix छ follows in the above four senses.

To the words नड &c. the same affix is added, with the insertion of a क् after the stem. As नड + कुक् + छ = नडकीवम्; दृशकीवम्, &c.

The words कुञ्चा and तक्षन् belong also to this class. In the case of कुञ्चा the long vowel is shortened, and in the case of तक्षन् the न् is elided : e. g. कृचकीवम्, तक्षकीवम् ॥

1 नड, 2 दृश, 3 विल्व, 4 वेणु, 5 वेच, 6 वतस, 7 इशु, 8 काष्ठ, 9 कपोत, 10 कृण, 11 कुञ्चा (कुञ्चाया) इत्यस्त्वं च, 12 तक्षन् नलोपच.

शेषे ॥ ९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ शेषे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शेष इत्यधिकारोपम् । अतिस ऊर्ध्वे प्रत्ययाननुक्रमिष्यामः, शेषेऽप्ये ते वेदितव्याः ॥

92. The affixes taught hereafter, have senses other than those mentioned above.

The suffixes that will be taught now have senses other than those already taught in the previous aphorisms. "Let a meaning, other than those of which 'progeny' (IV. 1 92) was the first mentioned, and the quadruple signification', the last, be called शेष or the remainder"—and in that remainder of senses, too, let there be the affix अन् &c. Thus चाक्षुर् 'visible' viz. colour which is apprehended by vision' from चक्षुः; श्रावणः 'audible' viz. sound, from श्रवण, औपनिषद्: 'treated of in Upanishad' i. e. soul, शर्यद्: from शृषद्, 'ground on a stone' i. e. flour of a fried corn, चतुर् 'ridden in by four person' viz. a cart; चानुर्द्यम् 'who is seen on the fourteenth day of the moon' viz. a goblin; औदुत्यकः 'pounded in a mortar' viz. barley; आश्वः 'drawn by horses' viz. a chariot. (Adapted from Dr. Ballantyne's Laghukaumudi).

The regulating influence of the expression शेषे "in the remainder" extends from this aphorism forward as far as IV. 3. 134. The affixes छ &c taught hereafter, do not come in the sense of 'progeny' &c, but they have, every one of them, all the senses of जात 'being born' (IV. 3. 25), प्रोक्तः (IV. 3. 101), अगतः (IV. 3. 74) &c. निवासः (IV. 3. 89), &c कृतः &c (IV. 3. 38).

Thus सौष्ठः means "born in Srughna (IV. 3. 25), or done in Srughna, or bought in Srughna, or obtained in Srughna, or skillful in Srughna (IV. 3. 38), or abundant in Srughna (IV. 3. 39), or suited to Srughna (IV. 3. 41), or staying in Srughna (IV. 3. 53), or what has come from Srughna (IV. 3. 74) or which has its rise in Srughna (IV. 3. 83), a road leading to Srughna (IV. 3. 85) a messenger going to Srughna (IV. 3. 85), a gate facing Srughna or from which men go out to Srughna (IV. 3. 86) a book relating to the History of Srughna (IV. 3. 87), an inhabitant of Srughna (IV. 3. 89), a person whose ancestral home is at Srughna (IV. 3. 90)."

राष्ट्रावारपाराद् घञौ ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ राष्ट्र-अवारपारात्-घ-ञौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ राष्ट्र अवारपार इत्येताभ्यां यथासंख्यं घञानिख्येनां प्रत्ययो भवतः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ विपरीतासीष्यते ॥ वार्तिकम् ॥ विपरीताम् ॥

93. The affixes *gha* and *kha* are respectively added after the words राष्ट्र and अवारपार ॥

The affix *इष* is substituted for *ष*, and *ईन* for *ख* (VII. 1. 2). Thus राष्ट्रः 'born &c. in a country', अवारपारीषः 'who or what goes or extends to both banks'.

VArt.—The affix *ख* comes also when the words अवार and पार are taken separately; as well as when compounded inversely: e. g. अवारीषः 'belonging to this bank of the river', पारीषः 'belonging to the other bank', पारवारीषः 'belonging to the other bank as well as to this'. Here as well as in several of the subsequent aphorisms, merely the stems and their appropriate affixes are given; the sense of these affixes are those of 'being born' &c. to be taught hereafter in IV. 3. 25 and sūtras that follow it.

"There shall now be mentioned derivatives which end with those affixes the first whereof is *ष*, and the last where of are *व्यु* (IV. 3. 24), with specification of the original term to which the application of those affixes is appropriate; and their varieties of meaning, such as 'being produced therefrom' IV. 2. 25, and the like, shall be mentioned; and the declensional cases in connection with which the affixes are appropriately applicable". (Dr. Ballantyne's *Laghu Kaumudi*).

ग्रामाद्यखञौ ॥ ९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्रामात्, य-खञौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्रामाद्यञाय खञ् इत्येतौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः ॥

94. The affixes *य* and *खञ्* (ईन) come after the word 'grāma'.

As ग्राम्य and ग्रामीणः, 'a rustic'.

कत्तत्रयादिभ्यो ढकञ् ॥ ९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कत्ति-आदिभ्यो-ढकञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कत्ति इत्येवमादिभ्यो ढकञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ कुल्याया यलोपच ॥

95. The affix *ढकञ्* (पयक) comes after the words कत्ति &c.

As कत्तियकः, औग्मेयकः &c.

1 कत्ति, 2 उम्भि, 3 पुष्कर, 4 पुष्कल, 5 मोहन, 6 कुम्भी, 7 कुण्डिन, 8 नगरी (नगर) 9 माहिष्यती, 10 वर्मती, (चर्मण्वती) 11 वय्या, 12 मान, 13 कुडपाया (कुल्याया) यलोपच, 14 वज्जी, 15 भक्ति.

कुलकुक्षिप्रीवाभ्यः भ्वास्त्यलङ्कारेषु ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुल-कुक्षि-प्रीवाभ्यः, भ्वा-भासि-अलङ्कारेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुलकुक्षिप्रीवाद्यभ्यो वयासंख्यं भन् अक्षि भलंकार इत्येतेषु जातादिभ्यो ढक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

96. The same affix ढक् is added to the words कुल, कुक्षि and प्रीवा, when the whole words so formed mean respectively, 'a dog', 'a sword' and 'an ornament'.

The force of the affix, as already told above, is to denote 'produce' &c. (IV. 3. 25 &c): but the whole word has specific significance. As कौलेयकः = a dog (lit. pertaining to a family); कौक्षेयकः = a sword (lit. remaining in a sheath), धनेयकः = a necklace. When not having these meanings, the regular derivatives from these words are formed by अण् as, कौलः, कौक्षः and धेवः ॥

नद्यादिभ्यो ढक् ॥ ९७ ॥ नद्यादिभ्यः, ढक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नदी इत्येवमादिभ्यो ढक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

97. The affix ढक् (पर्यं) comes after the words 'nadi' &c, in the remaining senses (i. e. IV. 3. 25. &c).

Thus नदित्वं, 'pertaining to a river', नद्वयम् earthen', &c.

1 नदी, 2 नदी, 3 वाराणसी, 4 भावस्ती, 5 कौशाम्बी, 6 वनकौशाम्बी (वनको) 7 काशपरी 8 काशफरी (फारी) 9 खादरी, 10 पूर्वनगरी, 11 पाठा (पावा) 12 माया (मावा) 13 शाल्वा (शा-ल्वा) 14 श्यावा, 15 सेतकी (वासेनकी) 16 वडवाया दूषे, 17 शाल्वा.

The word पूर्वनगरी occurs in the above list. Its derivative will be पूर्व-नगरव्यम् ॥ But some say, it is composed of three words पूर्व-वन-गारे and they apply the affix to each of them separately. As पारेयम्, वानेयम् and नरेयम् ॥

दक्षिणापश्चात्पुरसस्यक् ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ दक्षिणा, पश्चात्, पुरसः, त्यक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दक्षिणा पश्चात् पुरस् इत्येतेभ्यस्त्यक् प्रत्ययो भवति शेषिकः ॥

98. After the words 'dakshinā', 'paschāt' and 'puras' the affix 'tyak' (त्यं) is added in the remaining senses.

As दक्षिणात्यः 'pertaining to or produced in the south'; पश्चात्यः 'occidental', पुरात्यः 'oriental'.

कापिद्याः षफक् ॥ ९९ ॥ पदानि ॥ कापिद्याः, षफक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कापिशीशब्दात् षफक् प्रत्ययो भवति शेषिकः ॥

प्राचिकम् ॥ पाह्ल्युर्दिर्दिभ्यश्चेतिवक्तव्यम् ॥

99. After the word 'Kāpisi', the affix 'shphak' is added in the remaining senses: (the feminine being formed by ङिप् IV. 1. 41).

Thus कापिषायनं मधु, कापिषायनी द्राक्षा 'a liquor'.

Vart:—So also after बाह्वि, हवि and हवि as, बाह्विनी, हविनी, पार्विनी ॥ This debars वृष् of IV. 2. 125.

रङ्गोरमनुष्येण च ॥ १०० ॥ पदान ॥ रङ्गोः-अमनुष्ये-अण्-च-(ष्फक्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ रङ्गुग्रन्थार्ष प्रत्ययो भवति, चकारात्पञ्च शेषिकोऽमनुष्येतिधे ॥

100. After the word रङ्गु the same affix 'shphak' as well as the affix अण् is added, in the remaining senses, when the meaning is a non-human being.

As राहुवो गोः or राहुवावणो गोः but राहुवको मनुष्यः (IV. 2. 134).

Q. The word रङ्गु belongs to कृष्णारि class (IV. 2. 133); and when a human being is to be denoted, then by IV. 2. 134, it will take the affix अण्, and when a non-human being is to be designated, then it will take अण् by rule IV. 2. 133; then where is the necessity of the present sūtra by which अण् is enjoined when a non-human being is to be designated? To this the reply is that the force of the negative affix in amanuysya is that of इव; i. e. अमनुष्य = मनुष्य सदृशः "a being like man, but not man". The word अमनुष्य does not mean 'anything which is not a man'. For had this been its meaning, then a blanket is also a thing which is not a man, and in denoting a blanket, we should add ष्फक्; but we never do so. When blanket is to be denoted we add अण् of IV. 2. 133, as राहुवः "a woolen blanket". When we want to denote a *living* being other than man, then we add अण् and ष्फक् of this sūtra. The अण् is repeated in this sūtra, for the purpose also of showing that otherwise अण् would have been debarred by the special affix ष्फक् ॥

The word रङ्गु is the name of a country, it would have taken अण् under the universal rule IV. 1. 83, but this is debarred by वृष् of IV. 2. 125, and वृष् is debarred by वृष् of IV. 2. 119, and वृष् is debarred by अण् of IV. 2. 132, as it has क् as penultimate, the present sūtra debar that and ordains अण् and ष्फक् ॥

द्युप्रागपागुदक्प्रतीचो यत् ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्यु, प्राग्-अपाग्-उदक्-प्रतीचो-यत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिव् प्राच् अपाच् उदच् प्रत्यय इत्येतेभ्यो यत्प्रत्ययो भवति शेषिकः ॥

101. After the words 'div', 'prāch', 'apāch', 'udach' and 'pratyach', the affix यत् is added in the remaining senses.

Thus दिव्यम्, प्राच्यम्, अपाच्यम्, उदच्यम्, (IV. 4. 130) and प्रतीच्यम् ॥ For accent see VI. 1. 213. When these words are used as Indeclinables, and denote time, they take also the affixes 'tyu' and 'tyul', e. g. प्राक्तनम् (IV. 3. 25). The word अपाच् means south.

कन्यायाद्यक् ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कन्यायाः ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कन्यायाद्यादृक् प्रत्ययो भवति शेषिकः ॥

102. After the word 'Kanthâ', comes the affix ठक् in the remaining senses.

As कान्तिका ॥

वर्णो वुक् ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वर्णो-वुक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कन्याया इत्येव । वर्णो वा कन्या तस्या वुक् प्रत्ययो भवति पैषिकः ॥

103. To the same stem is added the affix वुक् when it treats about some thing which is to be found in the land of Varnu.

The Varṇu is the name of a river, and the country near it is also called Varṇu, the affix denoting country being elided by IV. 2. 81. Thus कान्तिकम् ॥

अव्ययात्त्यप् ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अव्ययात्-त्यप् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अव्ययात् त्यप् प्रत्ययो भवति पैषिकः ॥

Kārikā अनिहन्तसिचेश्वस्त्यश्चिधिर्योऽप्ययात्सृत् ॥

निनिभ्यो भ्रुवगस्योश्च प्रवेद्यो नियमे स्या ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ स्वप्नेधुवे ॥ वार्तिकम् ॥ नितो गति ॥ वार्तिकम् ॥ भाविसश्छन्दसि ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अरण्याणोवक्तव्यः ॥ वार्तिकम् ॥ दूरेत्यः ॥ वार्तिकम् ॥ उत्तरादहम् ॥

104. The affix 'tyap' comes after an Indeclinable, in the remaining senses.

This rule is too wide. The affix त्यप् is restricted to the following Indeclinables :—अमा 'together', इह 'here', कु 'where', those that end in तसि (V. 3. 7) and च (V. 3. 10). As अमात्यः 'a minister', इहत्यः, कुत्यः, ततस्त्यः, तत्रत्यः &c.

Why do we say 'its application should be restricted'? Observe: औपरिष्ठः, पौरस्तः, पारस्तः formed from the Indeclinables उपरि, पुर, and पार; moreover, the Indeclinables, that are Vpiddha (i. e. having आ, ऐ and औ in the first syllable), take the affix छ in the same sense. As, आरातीव ॥

Vārt:—The त्यप् is added to नि, in the sense of "fixed" as, नित्यम् = भ्रुवम् ॥

Vārt:—The त्यप् is added to निस् in the sense of 'going'. As निष्ठः "Chāṇḍālas &c who have gone out of the caste".

Vārt:—The त्यप् is added to the word भाविस् in the Vedas: As, भावि-
द्यो वन्दते ॥

Vārt:—The affix ज comes after अरण्याः c. g. आरण्याः सुमनसः ॥

Vārt:—The affix एत्य comes after दूर, c. g. दूरेत्यः पयिकः ॥

Vārt:—The affix आहम् comes after उत्तर c. g. औत्तराहम् ॥

ऐषमोहः श्वसोऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऐषमस्-ह्यस्-श्वसो-अन्यत-
रस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऐषमस् ह्यस् श्वस् इत्येतेभ्यो ऽन्यतरस्यां ह्यप् प्रत्ययो भवति शेषिकः ॥

105. The affix त्यप् is added optionally after the words 'aishamas', 'hyas', and 'svas'; in the remaining senses.

As ऐषमस्स्याम् or ऐषमस्तनम् (IV. 3. 23), ह्यस्स्याम् or ह्यस्तनम् (IV. 3. 23); श्वस्स्याम् or श्वस्तनम् (IV. 3. 23) or शौवस्तिकम् (IV. 3. 15). The word 'svas' takes the augment सुप् also, hence the above three forms.

तीररूप्योत्तरपदादञ्जौ ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ तीर-रूप्य-उत्तर-पदात्-अञ्-जौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तीरोत्तरपदाद् रूप्योत्तरपदाच्च प्रातिपदिकादय्यासंख्यमञ्ज् अ इत्यंती प्रत्ययो भवतः शेषिकः ॥

106. The affix अञ् comes after a word ending with तीर, and the ज् comes after a word ending with रूप्य; in the remaining senses.

This debars अञ् ॥ Thus काकतीरम्, पालुतीरम्, शार्करूप्यम्, शैवरूप्यम् ॥ The words formed by अञ्, take the affix ङीप् in the feminine (IV. 1. 15); those in अ take the affix णप् (IV. 1. 4). The sūtra is not enunciated as तीररूप्यान्तात्, for had it been so, the affix would apply to बहुरूप्य also, where रूप्य is final, but cannot be called uttara-pada, as 'bahu' is not a pada but is an affix V. 3. 68. Therefore, we have बाहुरूप्यम् formed by अञ् ॥

दिक्पूर्वपदादसंज्ञायां जः ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिक्-पूर्वपदात्, असंज्ञायाम्-जः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ असंज्ञायामिति प्रकृतिविशेषणम् । दिक्पूर्वपदाद्यातिपदिकासंज्ञा विषयाद् ज् प्रत्ययो भवति शेषिकः ॥ .

107. The affix ज् comes in the remaining senses, after a word preceded by another that signifies 'direction', provided the compound is not a Name.

To a stem, whose first member is a word denoting direction, and which is not a Name, the affix ज् is added, forming the feminine in जा ॥ The word असंज्ञायाम् qualifies the 'base'. This debars अञ् ॥ Thus पूर्वशाला+ज् = पूर्वशालाः (VI. 4. 148, VII. 2. 117) 'who is in the eastern hall'. Similarly शशिजालः, आपरशालः ॥

Why do we say "when not a Name"? Observe, from the word पूर्वशु-
कामशमी (II. 1. 50) we have पूर्वशुकामशर्मः (VII. 3. 14), The example illustrates, how first a compound of Tatpuruṣa kind is formed by the words शुक्+शु-
कामशमी; "Ishukāmshami-in-the-East"; the whole being the name of the city.

Then when the Taddhita affix is added to this word, the first vowel is not vṛddhied, as is the general rule VII. 2. 117; but the first vowel of the second member of the compound is vṛddhied, viz the letter इ of इषुकामशर्मा by rule VII. 3. 14. Similarly अपरेषुकामशर्मा: "who is in Ishukāmashamī-in-the-West".

The word 'ष' is used in the sūtra for the sake of percision, for had the sūtra been दिक्पूर्वपरान्मन्त्राद्यारम्भं प्रत्ययो भवति शेषिकः ॥ there would rise the doubt, whether the word-form दिक् was meant, or words denoting दिक् were meant. In fact the स्वस्वरविधि is debarred by the use of the word ॥ For had it meant दिक्; the rule would have applied to words like दिग्गजः &c.

मद्रेभ्योऽञ् ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ मद्रेभ्यो-अञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिक्पूर्वपरान्मन्त्राद्यारम्भं प्रत्ययो भवति शेषिकः ॥

108. The affix अञ् is added to the word मद्रे, preceded by a word denoting direction; in the remaining senses.

Thus पूर्वमद्रे: १. श्री; आपरमद्रे: १. श्री ॥ Here contrary to the examples in the preceding sūtra, the initial vowel is vṛddhied by VII. 3. 13 which makes a special exception in the case of the word मद्रे ॥

उदीच्यग्रामाच्चवहुचोन्तोदात्तात् ॥ १०९ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिग्महणं निवृत्त्य । उदीच्यग्रामवाचिनः प्रातिपरिकारं बहुचोन्तोदात्तात् अञ् प्रत्ययो भवति शेषिकः ॥

109. The affix अञ् comes in the remaining senses, after a word consisting of more than two syllables, having udātta accent on the final, being the name of a village of the peoples of the North.

The governing force of the word दिक् ceases here. The अञ् debar अञ् ॥ Thus शैवपुरम्, माण्डपुरम् ॥

Why do we say "village of north-folk"? Observe माण्डुरम् formed by अञ्; difference in accent.

Why do we say "consisting of more than two syllables"? Observe धुञ्जी-धुञ्जम् ॥

Why do we say "being oxytone?" Observe शार्करोधानम् ॥ Here धा is udātta by VI. 1. 194, taking लिट् accent.

प्रस्थोत्तरपदपल्लवादिपञ्चादञ् ॥ ११० ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रस्थोत्तरपदात् पल्लवादिभ्यः ककारोपधाच्च प्रातिपरिकारं प्रत्ययो भवति शेषिकः ॥

110. The affix अञ् comes, in the remaining senses after a word ending with प्रस्थ, after the words पल्लवी &c, and

after a word having a penultimate क, whether these words express villages of North folk or not.

This debars the अण् of the last aphorism. Thus गार्हीप्रस्थः, गार्हकीप्रस्थः, पालदः, पारिषदः, नैलिनकः, चैयत्तकः ॥

In the class Paladyādi, those words which denote villages of गार्हीप्रस्थः, will not take इष् or मिह् affix of IV. 2. 117; but will take the affix अण् of this rule. Such as the words गोष्ठी and नैतकी ॥

The word गोमती occurs in Paladyādi class, and consequently it does not take the affix इष् (IV. 2. 123) which it would otherwise have taken by reason of its being a Vriddha word ending in long ई ॥

The word गार्हीक has a penultimate क, but it is recited in Paladyādi class, showing that it does not take the affix छ of IV. 2. 114 though it is a Vriddha word.

The affix अण् is repeated in this sūtra, (though its anuvṛitti comes from IV. 1. 83), in order to exclude the application of any rule which might have debarred the general अण् ॥

1 पलदी, 2 परिषद, 3 रोमक, 4 गार्हीक, 5 कलकीट (मलकीट) 6 बहुकीट (गार्हकीट) 7 आलकीट, 8 कमलकीट, 9 कमलकीकर, 10 कमलमिश्र, 11 गोष्ठी, 12 नैतकी (नैतकी), 13 परिखा, 14 पूरसेन, 15 गामती, 16 पदधार, 17 उदयान (उदयानि) 18 बहुलोम, 19 सकुलोमन् ॥

कण्वादिभ्यो गोत्रे ॥ १११ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोत्रमिह न प्रत्ययार्थो न च प्रकृतिविशेषणं, तर्हि संबध्यते, कण्वादिभ्यो गोत्रे च प्रत्ययो विहितस्तदन्तेभ्य एवाण् प्रत्ययो भवति शेषिकः ॥

111. The affix अण् comes after the patronymics formed from कण्व &c.

Here the word गोत्रे does not qualify the sense of the base, nor does it give the sense of the affix. It simply means "that after a word ending with the affix which has been ordained after the words Kaṇva &c, in denoting a Gotra or Family-name; the affix अण् is employed in the remaining senses." This debars the affix छ (IV. 2. 114). Thus कण्वाः "the pupils of Kaṇva". गौकसाः (IV. 1. 105).

Why do we say "when denoting Family-names?" Thus the word कण्व, when it means कण्व देवताऽस्य, forms its secondary derivative कण्वीयन् by छ ॥

The Kaṇva-class is a sub-class of Gargādi. The Family-names from कण्व and गौकस are कौण्ड्य and गौकास्य by rule IV. 1. 105. To this, the affix अण् is added. कौण्ड्य + अण् = कौण्ड्यः (VI. 4. 148 and VI. 4. 152).

इअश्च ॥ ११२ ॥ पदानि ॥ इष्, च-(अण्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोत्रे च इष् विहितस्तदन्ताद्यातिपादिकादण्प्रत्ययो भवति शेषिकः ॥

112. After a Family-name formed by इञ्, the affix अण् is added in the remaining senses.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus from दक्ष we have Patronymic दक्षि, from which दक्षा: "the pupils of Dākshi"; दक्षाः, मादकाः ॥ The final इ is elided before अण् by VI. 4. 148.

Why do we say 'denoting a family-name'? Observe सौतङ्गनिः, a word formed by इञ् of IV. 2. 80, not denoting a family, but having the four-fold sense of IV. 2. 68-70. The further derivative from this will be सौतङ्गनीयञ् by छ (IV. 2. 114).

न द्वयच्चः प्राच्यभरतेषु ॥ ११३ ॥ पदानि ॥ न-द्वयच्चः, प्राच्य-भरतेषु(अण्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ द्वयः प्रातिपदिकाव्याच्यभरतगोत्रादिभन्तादण् प्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

113. The affix अण् is not however added to a word which, though ending in the Patronymic affix इञ्, consists of two syllables, when it is the family name of Eastern people or of Bharata.

This sūtra debars अण् which would have come by the last sūtra. The result being, that the words answering to the description given in this aphorism, form the शैषिक derivatives by the affix छ (IV. 2. 114). Thus पौष्कीयाः, काशीयाः from पौष्कि, काशि ॥ Why do we say "consisting of two syllables"? Observe पान्नागाणः formed by अण् from पान्नागारि ॥

Why do we say "when it denotes the family-names of East folks or Bharata"? Observe: दक्षाः from दक्षि ॥

Q. How do you form काशीय when by rule IV. 2. 116, the proper form would be काशिकी or काशिका ?

Ans. The word काशि of sūtra 116 refers to a country because it occurs with चेदि, while the काशि of the example under the present aphorism is a Family-name.

The Bharatas belong also to the East-Folk or Prāchyas. Their separate mention here indicates by Jñāpaka or inference, that wherever Prāchya is used in these sūtras, it does not include the Bharatas. See II 4. 66.

वृद्धाच्छः ॥ ११४ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृद्धात्-छः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ वृद्धात्प्रातिपदिकाच्छः प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

114. After a word called Vriddha, the affix छ is added in the remaining senses.

The word णेञ् does not govern this sūtra. This is a general rule: The Vriddha is defined in I. 1. 73 &c. This debars अण् ॥ Thus from गार्ग्य we

have भार्गव (VI. 4. 148 & 152). So also वान्सीवः, घात्रीवः, नालीवः. ॥

This rule being a subsequent one, debars the following preceding rules, in case of conflict of rules (I. 4. 2) 1. The rule relating to Indeclinables (104), 2. The rule relating to words ending in वीर and क्व (106) 3. The rule relating to Villages of North-folk (109), 4. The rule relating to penultimate क (110). Thus.

इह-इहवः; but भारान्-भारतीयः कारवतीर-कारवतीरवः; but वायवतीर-वायवतीरवः
वाणारकव्य-वाणारकव्यवः; but माणिक्य-माणिक्यकः (IV. 2, 21) शिवपुर-शिवपुरवः; but वाङ्-
वक्त्रं-वाङ्मूर्ध्नि, निरीनक-नैरीनकः; but मौल्य-मौल्यवः ॥

भवत्प्रकृच्छसौ ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥ भवत्, ठक्-छसौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भवच्छब्दाद् वृद्धात् ठक्छसौ प्रत्ययो भवत् शेषिकौ ॥

115. The affix ठक् and छस् come after the Vriddha word भवत्, in the remaining senses.

The word भवत् is a Vriddha word because it belongs to tyadādī class (I. 1. 74). This rule debars छ of the last aphorism. In the affix, छस्, the final स् is indicatory, showing that the word भवत् before this affix gets the designation of Pada पद (I. 4. 16). Thus भवत् + ठक् = भावत्कः; भवत् + छस् = भवत्तवः ॥

But when the word भवत् is not treated as Vriddha, then it takes the general affix भवः; as भावत् ॥ This is the case when भवत् is derived by affixing घञ् to भू ॥

काश्यादिभ्यश्चिठौ ॥ ११६ ॥ पदानि ॥ काश्यादिभ्यः-ठक्-चिठौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ काशि इत्येवमादिभ्यश्चिठ् भिद् इत्येतौ प्रत्ययो भवत् शेषिकौ ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ आपसादिपूर्वपरास्काणान्तात् ॥

116. The affixes ठक् and भिद् come, in the remaining senses, after the words काशी &c.

In the affixes ठक् and भिद्, the इ is replaced by इक्, the other letters are anubandhas. The form in both cases will be the same, but there is a distinction in the feminine. Those formed by ठक् will take ङीष् (IV. 1. 15), the others will take राप् (IV. 1. 4). Thus काशिका or काशिकी, वैदिका or वैदिकी ॥

The word वृद्धात् is to be read in to this sūtra. Those words in the list which are not वृद्ध will take the affixes, by virtue of being so classified.

The word वैवस्वतः occurs in the list of words. It gets the designation of वृद्ध by I. 1. 75. Thus वैवस्वत्तकः ॥ But when it is the name of a Vāhika village, it is not a Vriddha word. The secondary derivative then will be वैवस्वतः ॥

Q. In the Māhābhāṣya it is said that a Proper name is optionally

treated as a Vriddha, and it gives example of देवदत्ताः or देवदत्ताः ॥ So then देवदत्ताः is a Vriddha word and will take these affixes,

Ans. No. In that very passage of Mahābhāṣya it is further stated that the option in the case of Proper-Names is allowed only for the purposes of the application of the affix छ (IV. 2. 114) and not the affix डम् and झिद् ॥

Vārt :—This affix comes after compound words ending in काल and preceded by आपन्, ऊर्ध्व and तद् ; as आपत्कालिकी or °का, भौर्धकालिकी or °का, सान्कालिकी or °का ॥

1 काधि, 2 चेदि (वैरी) 3 सांयाति*, 4 संवाह, 5 अद्भुत, 6 मोदमान (मोहमान) 7 शकुल-
र, 8 हस्तिकर्ष, 9 कुनामन्, (कुनामन्, 10 हिरण्य, 11 करण, 12 गोवासन (गोधासन) 13 भारद्वाज, 14
आरिन्द, 15 अरिच*, 16 देवदत्त, 17 दधमान (दासमान) 18 सौवावतान (सौधावतान) 19 युवराज,
20 उपराज, 21 देवराज, 22 मोरन*, 23 सिन्धुमित्र, 24 दासमित्र, 25 सुधामित्र*, 26 सोममित्र*, 27 छा-
गमित्र*, 28 सधमित्र*, 29 आपदादिपूर्वपदान् (आपद्, ऊर्ध्व, तद्) कालान्ताद्, 30 संज्ञा, 31 भौरिकि,
32 भौलिकि, 33 सर्वमित्र, 34 साधुमित्र ॥

वाहीकग्रामेभ्यश्च ॥ ११७ ॥ पदानि ॥ वाहीक-ग्रामेभ्यः च, (ठञ् झिडौ) ।
वृत्तिः ॥ वाहीकग्रामवाचिभ्यो वृद्धेभ्यश्च मिडौ प्रत्ययो भवतः वैषिकौ ॥

117. The affixes ठञ् and झिद् come, in the remain-
ing senses, after the Vriddha words denoting the villages of
Vāhika.

The word वृद्धान् is to be read into this sūtra. This debar the affix
छ (IV. 2. 114). Thus शाकलिकी or शाकलिका, मान्यविकी or मान्यविका ॥

विभाषोद्गीर्णरेषु ॥ ११८ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा-उद्गीर्णरेषु (ठञ्-झिडौ) ।
वृत्तिः ॥ उद्गीर्णरेषु ये वाहीकग्रामास्तद्वाचिभ्यो वृद्धेभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो विभाषा डम् मिडौ प्रत्ययो भवतः ॥

118. The affixes ठञ् and झिद् come optionally in
the remaining senses, after Vriddha words denoting Vāhika
villages situated in Uśinara.

Thus आह्नजालिकी, लिका and लीया; so also सौराष्ट्रनिकी, सौराष्ट्रनिका and सो-
रार्षनीया ॥

ओर्देशे ठञ् ॥ ११९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ओः, देशे, ठञ् ।
वृत्तिः ॥ उवर्णान्ताद् देशवाचिनः प्रातिपदिकान् डम् प्रत्ययो भवति वैषिकः ॥

119. The affix ठञ् comes in the remaining senses,
after a Nominal-stem denoting a locality and ending in उ ॥

The phrase 'वृद्धान्' does not govern this sūtra. For had it been
understood in this aphorism, there would have been no necessity of repeating
it in the next.

Thus नैषादकर्षकः, शारङ्गशृङ्गकः ॥ Why do we say देशे 'denoting a coun-
try'? Observe पादवाः 'the pupils of पद्' formed by अण् ॥

In the previous sūtras, the anuvṛitti of इम् and मिद् both were current ; hence the repetition of इम् in this sūtra, because we could not take the anuvṛitti of इम् from the last sūtra without drawing the anuvṛitti of मिद् ॥

वृद्धात्प्राचाम् ॥ १२० ॥ पदानि ॥ वृद्धात्-प्राचाम्-(उम्) ।

वृत्तिः ॥ ओर्देश इत्येव । उवर्णान्ताद् वृद्धात्प्राचाम्वाचिनः प्रातिपदिकादुम् प्रत्ययो भवति शेषिकः ॥

120. The affix उम् comes in the remaining senses after a vṛiddha word ending in उ and denoting a locality of the East-folks.

The phrase ओर्देशे is here understood. Thus भारुकजम्बुकः, शाकजम्बुकः नापितवास्तुकः ॥

The affix उम् would have been valid by the last sūtra also; the present sūtra makes a नियम or restriction, showing that in the case of words denoting places of East, the rule applies to those words only, which are Vṛiddha. Therefore it does not apply to मलवास्तु, from which we have माहवास्तवः ॥

धन्वयोपधाद्बुम् ॥ १२१ ॥ पदानि ॥ धन्व-य-उपधात्-बुम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धन्ववाचिनो यकारोपधाच्च देशाभिधायिनो वृद्धात्प्रातिपदिकाद् बुम् प्रत्ययो भवति शेषिकः ॥

121. The affix बुम् comes in the remaining senses, after a vṛiddha word denoting a locality, which has the letter य as its penultimate, and after a vṛiddha place-name denoting a waste or desert place.

The words वृद्धात् and देशे are understood here. The word धन्व means a waste or desert. Thus पारेधन्वकः, देरावतकः are examples of धन्व ॥ Similarly सांकाश्यकः and काम्पिल्यकः are examples of य penultimate.

प्रस्थपुरवहान्ताच्च ॥ १२२ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रस्थ-पुर-वहान्तात्-च-(बुम्) ।

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रस्थपुर वह इत्येवमन्ताद्देशवाचिनः प्रातिपदिकाद् वृद्धाद्बुम् प्रत्ययो भवति शेषिकः ॥

122. The affix बुम् comes, in the remaining senses, after a Vṛiddha word denoting a locality and ending with प्रस्थ, पुर or वह.

This debars छ (IV. 2. 114). Thus मालाप्रस्थकः, नान्दीपुरकः, कान्तिपुरकः, पैलुवहकः, फाल्गुनीवहकः ॥

The words ending in पुर would have taken the affix बुम् by the next sūtra also, but as that sūtra is restricted to the countries of the East, this sūtra is general in its scope,

रोपधेतोः प्राचाम् ॥ १२३ ॥ पदानि ॥ र-उपधा-ईतोः-प्राचाम् ।

वृत्तिः ॥ रोपधासीकापन्ताच्च प्राग्देशवाचिनो वृद्धाद्बुम् प्रत्ययो भवति शेषिकः ॥

123. The affix **बुञ्** comes in the remaining senses, after a Vriddha word denoting a locality of the East-folk, the word having a penultimate **र** or ending in **ई** ॥

This debars **छ** ॥ Thus **पाटलिपुत्रकाः**, **ऐकचक्रकाः** ॥ So also with words ending in **ई** ॥ As, **काकनी**—**काकनकाः**, **माकनी**—**माकनकाः** (VI. 4. 148).

Why do we say **प्राचाद्** 'of the East-folk'? Observe **राजानिधीवः** formed by **छ**. The **न्** in **ईन्** in the sūtra is for the sake of distinctness.

जनपदतद्वध्योश्च ॥ १२४ ॥ पदानि ॥ जनपद-तद्-अवध्योः छ-(बुञ्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ इन्द्राज्यनपदवाचिनस्त्वद्वधिवाचिनश्च प्रातिपदिकाद्बुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति शेषिकः ॥

124. The affix **बुञ्** comes in the remaining senses, after a Vriddha word denoting an inhabited kingdom, or a limit of such kingdom.

The phrases **इन्द्राज्य** and **देशे** are understood here, being qualified by **जनपद** and **तद्वधि** ॥ This debars the affix **छ** ॥ Thus **आमिसारकः** and **आवर्यकः** are examples of **जनपद** ॥ And **भोषुष्टकः** and **इयामादनकः** from **भोषुष्ट** and **इयामादन** two uninhabited countries, are illustrations of **जनपदवधि** ॥

The **मद्वधि** or limit of an inhabited country or **जनपद** must be a country and not a village. This is so, in order to prevent, by anticipation, the application of **छ** by IV. 2. 137 to words like **चिगर्च** which is an arid desert : as **निगर्चकः** ॥ The word **तद्वधि** means either "the boundary of that (**जनपद**)" or "that which itself is a boundary".

अवृद्धादपि बहुवचनविधायत् ॥ १२५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अवृद्धात्-अपि-बहुवचन-विधायत्-(बुञ्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अवृद्धाद् इन्द्राज्य जनपदान् तद्वधिवाचिनश्च बहुवचनाविधायत्प्रातिपदिकाद् बुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति शेषिकः ॥

125. The affix **बुञ्** comes in the remaining senses, even after a word which is not a Vriddha, and which is always plural, when it denotes an inhabited country or a limit of such country, as well as after such Vriddha words.

The words **जनपद** and **तद्वधि** are to be read into the aphorism. This debars **छ** and **अप्** ॥ Thus from **भङ्गाः**, **वङ्गाः** and **कलिङ्गाः** which are non-Vriddha Kingdom denoting words, always having a plural form, we have **आङ्गकाः**, **वाङ्गकाः** and **कालिङ्गकाः** ॥ Similarly **भज्जमीढाः** and **भज्जकन्दाः** are non-Vriddha always plural words, denoting boundary of kingdom; we have from them **आज्जमीढकाः** and **आज्जकन्दकाः** ॥ The affix will apply, of course to Vriddha **जनपद** word by the last sūtra, though these be always plural in form. Thus **रावर्कः** and **जाम्बकः** from **रावाः** and

मांवाः ॥ So also to Vridhdha words denoting limit of a Kingdom : कालंवा—
कालंवरकः, वैकुण्ठिवाः—वैकुण्ठिवाकः ॥

The word विपक्ष is used in the sūtra to indicate that the word should be plural in essence, having no corresponding singular form. Therefore the rule will not apply to वर्तन्वः plural of वर्तनी ॥ The derivative from it will be वर्तनः ॥

The word अपि is used in the sūtra to indicate that Vridhdha-words which would have taken बुम् by the last sūtra are not debarred by this sūtra, when they are plural in form. This debarring would have taken place, by the rule of interpretation known as सक्रौण्डिन्यन्यासः ; but for the use of the word अपि ॥ This maxim or nyāya is thus explained in Padamanjari :—पूर्वसूत्रे हि जनपदसामान्ये वृज्वात् बुम् विहितः, यथा ब्राह्मणसामान्ये वशिष्ठानः इह तु बहुवचनविषयेविशेषेऽवृज्वाद् बुम्, यथा कौण्डिन्ये सक्रानः, ततश्च बहुवचनादपि वृज्वाद् बुम्भिमात्रे आरम्भमाणोऽवृज्वाद् बुम् वृज्वाद् बुम्भो-
वाधकः स्यादित्यपि शब्दन समुचीयते इत्यर्थः ॥

कच्छाशिवपक्षगतोत्तरपदात् ॥ १२६ ॥ पदानि ॥ कच्छ-आग्नि-वक्त्र-गर्त-उत्तरप-
दात्-बुम् ।

वृत्तिः ॥ कच्छाद्युत्तरपदाद् देशवाचिनः प्रातिपदिकाच्चाद् वृज्वाद्बुम् प्रत्ययो भवति धैविकः ॥

126. The affix बुम् comes in the remaining senses after a word, whether Vridhdha or not, denoting a locality and having as its second term the words 'kachchha', 'agni', 'vaktra' and 'garta'.

This debarbs छ and अम् ॥ As शकच्छकः, पैपलीकच्छकः, काण्डाग्रकः, वैशुजाग्रकः, ऐन्द्रवक्त्रकः, ऐन्द्रवक्त्रकः, बाहुगर्तकः and चाक्रगर्तकः ॥

The word उत्तरपद in the sūtra should be read with every one of the words कच्छ &c.

धूमादिभ्यश्च ॥ १२७ ॥ पदानि ॥ धूमादिभ्यः-च-बुम् ।

वृत्तिः ॥ धूमादिभ्यो देशवाचिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो बुम् प्रत्ययो भवति धैविकः ॥

127. The affix बुम् comes, in the remaining senses, after the words dhūma &c, denoting country.

This debarbs अम् &c. धौमकः, स्वाण्डकः &c. The word पायेव occurs in the list. It would have taken बुम् by IV. 2. 121 as it has व as penultimate. Its mention here shows that it need not denote a locality for the application of this affix. Similarly the words विदेह and आनर्त being names of जनपद would have taken बुम् by 124 ante; here in this list, therefore, they do not denote country. Thus विदेहानां क्षत्रियाणां स्वः = देहेदकम् "the property of Vidcha Kshatriyās". So also आनर्तकम् ॥ The word समुद्र occurs in the list. It takes the affix when the

derivative word means a 'ship' or a 'sailor'. Thus सामुद्रिका नौः and सामुद्रिकौ मनुष्यः ॥ Otherwise not : सामुद्रम् "Oceanic water".

1 धूम, 2 वड्ढ (खड्ढ and खण्ड) 3 वंशदाने, 4 अर्जुनाव (आर्जुनाद्) 5 माहकस्थली, 6 आनकस्थली*, 7 माहिकस्थली*, 8 मानस्थली (माषस्थली) 9 अहस्थली*, 10 मद्रुकस्थली*, 11 समुद्रस्थली, 12 शण्डायनस्थली, 13 राजस्थली, 14 विदेह, 15 राजगृह, 16 साक्षासाह, 17 शप्प, 18 (शिष्य) 18 निचवर्ध (निचवर्ध; निच, वल) 19 भक्षाली*, 20 मद्रुकूल, 21 आजीकूल (आञ्जीकूल) 22 ब्राह्मण, 23 वषाहाव, 24 संस्तीय (संहीय) 25 बर्बर, 26 वड्य, 27 गर्त (वर्धगर्त) 28 आनर्त, 29 माडर, 30 पायेय, 31 घोष, 32 पत्नी (वल्ली) 33 भाराज्ञी, 34 धार्तराज्ञी, 35 आवय, 36 तीर्य (अवयात तीर्य) 37 कृणात्सौवीर्य, 38 समुद्रान्नावि मनुष्ये च, 39 कुक्षि, 40 अन्तरीय (अन्तरीप) 41 द्वीप, 42 मरुण, 43 उज्जयिनी, (उज्जयिनी) 44 पद्मार, 45 क्षिणापय, 46 साकेत, 47 घोषस्थली, 48 भक्षस्थली, 49 गर्तकूल, 50 मानवल्ली, 51 मुराज्ञी ॥

नगरात्कुत्सनप्रावीण्ययोः ॥ १२८ ॥ पदानि ॥ नगरात्-कुत्सन-प्रावीण्ययोः-(बुद्धिः)

वृत्तिः ॥ नगराद्वावुम् प्रत्ययो भवति शेषिकः कुत्सने प्रावीण्ये च गम्यमाने ॥

A. केनायं प्रथितः पन्था गात्रे पद्मालिधसः ? B. इह नगरे मनुष्येण ॥ A. संभाव्यतएतन्नागरकेण ॥ चौरादि नागरका भवन्ति ॥ A. केनेह लिखितं चित्रं मनोनेत्रविकाशि यत् ? B. इह नगरे मनुष्येण ॥ A. संभाव्यतएतन्नागरकेणे ॥ प्रवीणा हि नागरका भवन्ति ॥

128. The affix बुद्धि comes after the word 'nagara' in the remaining senses, when censure or praise is implied.

The word कुत्सनं which is equivalent to निन्दनं or 'blame or censure'; and प्रावीण्ये which means नैपुण्य "dexterity", qualify the sense of the affix.

Thus नागरकः 'a knave, a cunning person, or a skillful person'. The word literally means 'a town-born, or town-bred', but by the usage of language, it always denotes a person having the vices or virtues of a town, such as a thief or an artist.

Why do we say "when censure or dexterity is implied"? Observe नागरः ब्राह्मणाः 'the Nagara Brāhmaṇas'.

अरण्यान्मनुष्ये ॥ १२९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अण्यात्-मनुष्ये-(बुद्धिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अण्याद्वावुम् प्रत्ययो भवति शेषिको मनुष्येऽभिधेये ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ पठ्यध्यायन्यायविहारमनुष्य हस्तिविति वक्तव्यम् ॥

129. The affix बुद्धि comes, in the remaining senses, after the word अरण्य, in the sense of a man.

This debars the affix च. Thus आरण्यकः मनुष्यः 'a forester'.

Vārt :—It should be stated rather that the affix बुद्धि is added to अरण्य in the sense of 'a way' 'a lesson, or doctrine (Upanishad)' 'a maxim' 'a play or game' 'a man' and 'an elephant'. Thus आरण्यकः पन्थाः, अध्यायः, न्यायः विहारः, मनुष्यः or हस्ति ॥

Vart. :—Optionally when the sense is that of a cow-dung as भारण्याः or भारण्याका गोमयाः ॥

Why do we say 'when having these senses'? Otherwise the affix will be अण्. As भारण्याः पशवः 'wild beasts'.

विभाषा कुरुयुगन्धराभ्याम् ॥ १३० ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा-कुरु-युगन्धराभ्याम्-(बुञ्)
वृत्तिः ॥ कुरु युगन्धर इत्येताभ्यां विभाषा बुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति शेषिकः ॥

130. The affix बुञ् comes optionally in the remaining senses, after the words 'Kuru', and 'Yugandhara'.

Thus कौरवर्षः or कौरवैः, द्यौगन्धरकः or द्यौगन्धरैः ॥ These words denote अनपह or inhabited countries, and therefore by sūtra IV. 2. 125 they would always have taken the affix बुञ्. The present sūtra makes the application of बुञ् optional and not obligatory. The word कुरु occurs in the list of कच्छादि class (IV. 2. 133). By virtue of its being so classified, it will take अण् also. And when it means man or something found in men, it will take necessarily, not optionally, the affix बुञ् by virtue of sūtra IV. 2. 134. As कौरवको मनुष्यः, कौरवक-मस्य हस्तिनम् ॥ This aphorism therefore, teaches option regarding कुरु with these restrictions, while it teaches option absolutely with regard to the word युगन्धरः ॥

मद्रवृज्योः कन् ॥ १३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ मद्र-वृज्योः-कन् ।
वृत्तिः ॥ मद्रवृज्योः-कन् प्रत्ययो भवति शेषिकः ॥

131. The affix कन् comes in the remaining senses, after the words 'madra' and 'vṛjji'.

This debars बुञ्, though the words denote inhabited countries. Thus मद्रकः 'born in Madra', वृजिकः ॥

कोपधाट् ॥ १३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ क-उपधाट्-अण् ।
वृत्तिः ॥ ककारोपधाट् प्रातिपदिकारणं प्रत्ययो भवति शेषिकः ॥

132. The affix अण् comes in the remaining senses after a word denoting a place and having the letter क as its penultimate.

This debars बुञ् in the case of words which denote अनपह or inhabited countries. Of course the words which do not denote अनपह, will have taken अण् even without this rule. Thus भारणिकः "born in भारणिकाः." So also माहिणिकः ॥

The affix अण् will apply even when the word ends in ट्, and would have otherwise taken इट् by IV. 2. 119. Thus इक्ष्वाकः "born in इक्ष्वाकु" ॥ The word इक्ष्वा is understood in this sūtra.

कच्छादिभ्यश्च ॥ १३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कच्छादिभ्यः-च-(अण्) ।
वृत्तिः ॥ कच्छ इत्येवमादिभ्यो इक्ष्वादिभ्योऽनपहप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

133. The affix **अण्** comes, in the remaining senses, after the words **kachchha** &c denoting places.

The word **केच** is understood here. This debars **बुम्** &c. Thus **काच्छः**, **सेन्धवः**, **वार्णवः** &c. The words **कच्छ** &c. are not invariable plural words, because by the next sūtra, it is shown that these words may signify men and their habits &c. The word **विजापक** occurs in this list. It would have taken **अण्** by the last sūtra also, because it has **क** as its penultimate. Its mention in the list is for the sake of the subsequent sūtra by which it takes **बुम्** also under certain conditions.

1 कच्छ, 2 सिन्धु, 3 वृजं, 4 गन्धार, 5 मधुमत, 6 कम्बोज, 7 कश्मीर, 8 साल्व, 9 कुरु, 10 मनुष्य (मणु, मण्ड, खण्ड) 11 द्वीप, 12 मनुष्य, 13 मज्जवाह, 14 विजापक, 15 कलतर (कुल) 16 कुरु।

मनुष्यतत्स्योर्बुम् ॥ १३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ मनुष्य-तत्स्योः बुम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मनुष्ये मनुष्यस्ये च जातारौ प्रत्ययार्थे कच्छादिभ्यो बुम् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

134. The affix **बुम्** comes after the words **kachchha** &c. in the senses of born &c. when the meaning is a 'man' or 'what exists in man'.

This debars **अण्** ॥ Thus **काच्छकः** 'a man born in Kutch'. **काच्छकमस्य हसितं जल्पितम् ॥** 'His joke or talk is of Kutch or a Kutch-laughter'. **काच्छिका वृडा ॥** Similarly **सेन्धवको मनुष्यः**, **सेन्धवकमस्य हसितं जल्पितम्**, **सेन्धविका वृडा ॥**

Why do we say "when meaning man or what exists in man?" Observe **काच्छी गोः** 'The cow of Kutch'. **सेन्धवो वार्णवः ॥**

अपदातो साल्वात् ॥ १३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपदातो-साल्वात्-(बुम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपरातावेव मनुष्ये मनुष्यस्ये साल्वाद्यम्बुद् बुम् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

135 The affix **बुम्** comes after the word **साल्व** in the senses of being born &c when denoting a man or what exists in man, provided that it does not mean a foot-soldier.

The word **साल्व** which occurs in the **कच्छादि** class, would have taken **बुम्** by the last sūtra, when the sense was that of a man or some human attribute. The present sūtra makes a restriction. Thus **साल्वको मनुष्यः**, **साल्वकमस्य हसितं जल्पितं** &c. But **साल्वः पशति व्रजति** 'the Sálva foot soldier goes.'

गोयवाग्वोश्च ॥ १३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ गो-यवाग्वोः-च-(बुम्) ।

वृत्तिः ॥ गवि यवाग्वो च जातारौ प्रत्ययार्थे साल्वाद्यम्बुद् बुम् प्रत्ययो भवति शेषिकः ॥

136. The affix **बुम्** comes in the remaining senses of being born &c, after the words **साल्व**, when the word signifies 'a cow' or 'a barley gruel'.

This debars अण् of IV. 2. 133. Thus सायुको गीः "the cows born in Salva". सायुका वराणः 'the barley gruel of Sālya'. In other cases we have सायुक् ॥

गर्तोत्तरपदाच्छः ॥ १३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ गर्त-उत्तरपदाद् छः ।

वृत्तिः ॥ गर्तोत्तरपदोत्तरपदिनः प्रातिपदिकाच्छः प्रत्ययो भवति शेषिकः ॥

137. The affix छ comes in the remaining senses after a Nominal-stem denoting a place and having the word गर्त as its second term.

This debars अण् ॥ The word वेद्ये is to be read into the sūtra. This rule being a subsequent one debars the affixes इङ् and मिद् of sūtra 117 ante. Thus वृकगर्तीयं, घृगालगर्तीयम्, द्वाविद्गर्तीयम् 'born in porcupine's hole &c'. The word उत्तरपद is used in the sūtra, so as to prevent the application of the rule to a word which ends in गर्त, but is preceded by the affix बहु, as बाहुगर्तम् ॥ Here बहु is an affix (V. 3. 68) and not a pada.

गहादिभ्यश्च ॥ १३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ गहादिभ्यः-च-(छः) ।

वृत्तिः ॥ गह इत्येवमादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यश्चः प्रत्ययो भवति शेषिकः ॥

138. The affix छ comes in the remaining senses after the words gaha &c.

This debars अण् &c. Thus गहीयः, 'belonging to a cave'. अन्तःस्थीयः &c.

In the list of गहादि occurs the following "मध्यमध्यं चाण् चरणे". It means "The word मध्य becomes changed into मध्यम when the affix छ is to be added. Thus मध्यमीयाः ॥ But when the sense is that of a Veda-school or Charaṇa, the affix अण् is added instead of छ as माध्यमाः" ॥ The word मध्यम here has the restricted sense of 'the middle of the earth', and not any middle generally. Thus मध्यमयः means पृथिवीमध्ये भवो ॥ So also when the affix अण् is applied in the case of चरण, it has the sense of निवास of sūtra IV. 3. 89 and not all the other senses. Thus त्रयः प्राच्याः, त्रयः मूर्ध्वीच्याः, त्रयो माध्यमाः "three Charaṇas dwell in the East, three in the West, and three in the Middle". The words मुखतस् and पार्श्वतः occur in the list. They have the affix तस्, but before the affix छ the स् of तस् is elided. Thus मुखतीयम् and पार्श्वतीयम् ॥

The augment कृक् is added to जन and पर before the affix छ ॥ As जनकीयम्, परकीयम् ॥ The same augment is added to the word देव also as, देवकीयम् ॥

The affix छण् comes after the words देण् &c. No list of such words is given. It is an आकृतिगणः ॥ Thus देणकीयम्, देवकीयम्, औत्तरपरकीयम्, प्रात्यकीयम्, माध्यमकीयम् ॥ &c.

1 वह, 2 अन्तःस्थ, 3 सन, 4 निपन, 5 मन्त्रमन्त्रनःपाश्चर्ये 6 उत्तन, 7 अङ्ग, 8 वङ्ग, 9 मगध, 10 पूर्वपक्ष, 11 अपरपक्ष, 12 अधन छात्र 13 उत्तमछात्र, 14 एकछात्र, 15 समानछात्र, 16 समानमान*, 17 एकमान, 18 एकवृक्ष, 19 एकपल्लव, 20 हृष्य, 21 हृष्यनीक (हृष्यनी) 22 भवस्यन्वन (भवस्यन्वी and अवस्कन्) 23 कामप्रस्य, 24 खादायन (खाडिकादायनि; खादायनि and खाण्डायनी) 25 काठे-रणि (कावेरणि and कामवेरणि) 26 लवेरणि*, 27 सौमिषि*, 28 सौमिरि, 29 आसुन्*, 30 देवघर्भि (देवघर्मन्) 31 भौति, 32 भार्हि, 33 आमिन्, 34 भ्याडि, 35 वैजि (वैरजि), 36 आभ्यधि, 37 आ-नृषि, 38 सौजि, 39 आग्निघर्भि, (अग्निघर्मन्) 40 भौजि, 41 वाराटकि (आराटकि), 42 वात्सीकि, 43 सैनवृजि (सैनवृजिन्), 44 आभ्यस्थि, 45 औष्माहमानि*, 46 ऐक, 47 विन्दि*, 48 वन्ताम*, 49 ईस*, 50 तन्त्वम*, 51 उत्तर, 52 अनन्तर (अन्तर), 53 मुखपार्श्वतोलोपः (also मुखतीय and पार्श्व-तीय), 54 अनपरयोः कुक् च (also अनकीय and परकीय), 55 देवस्य च, 56 वेणुकादि-यच्छच्. 57 आसुरि, 58 सौवि, 59 पारकि. It is an आकृतिगण ॥

प्राचां कटादेः ॥ १३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राञ्जाम्-कटादेः ।

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रादेशवाचिनः कटादेः प्रातिपदिकाच्छः प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

139. The affix छ comes in the remaining senses, after the words beginning with कट denoting the places of the East-folk.

The word देशे is understood here also. The word प्राक् of the sūtra qualifies देशे ॥ This debars अण् ॥ Thus कटनगणियम्, कटपौषीयम्, कटपुल्लीयम् ॥

राज्ञः क च ॥ १४० ॥ पदानि ॥ राज्ञः-क-च-(छः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ राज्ञः ककारान्तादेशो भवति छश्च प्रत्ययः ॥

140. The letter क is the substitute of the final of the word राज्ञन्, when छ is added.

This sūtra only teaches substitution: for राज्ञन् would have taken छ by IV, 2. 114. Thus राज्ञकीयम् ॥ The word देशे does not govern this sūtra, not being appropriate.

वृद्धादकेकान्तस्त्रोपधात् ॥ १४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृद्धात्-अक-इक-अन्त-स्त्रोपधात्-(छः)

वृत्तिः ॥ वृद्धादेशवाचिनो ङ्क इक इत्यदमन्तात् स्त्रकारोपधाच्च प्रातिपदिकाच्छः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

141. The affix छ comes in the remaining senses after a Vridhdha word denoting a place and ending with अक or इक, or having स्त्र as its penultimate.

The word देशे must be read into the sūtra. This debars the अण् of Sūtra 132 ante: as well as the affixes ordained by Sūtras 117 and 123.

Thus अकः—मारोहणकीयम्, शौचणकीयम् ॥ इकः—आभ्यपयिकीयम्, शास्त्रान्तिकीयम् ॥ स्त्रोपधात्—कौटिलिखीयम्, आयुष्मुखीयम् ॥

Vart.--The words लोसुक् &c. are also governed by this rule though they end in वक् ॥ Thus लोसुकीवद्, लोसुकीवद्, ऐन्द्रऐणुकीवद् ॥

कन्थापलदनगरग्रामह्रदोत्तरपदात् ॥ १४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कन्था-पलद्-नगर-ग्राम-ह्रद्-उत्तरपदात्-(छ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कन्थापुत्तरपदोद्यथापिनो वृद्धाव्यातिपरिकाच् छः प्रत्ययो भवति वैयकः ॥

142. The affix छ comes in the remaining senses after the Vridhdha words, having the words kanthâ, paladâ, nagara, grâma and hrada, as second terms.

This debars the other affixes such as इम् and शिर् of 117 ante Thus शाशिकन्धीवद्, नाशिकिकन्धीवद्, शाशिकपलदीवद्, नाशिकिकपलदीवद्, शाशिकनगीवद्, नाशिकिकनगीवद्, शाशिकग्रामीवद्, नाशिकिकग्रामीवद्, शाशिकह्रदीवद्, नाशिकिकह्रदीवद् ॥

पर्वताच्च ॥ १४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ पर्वताच्-च-(छः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पर्वतपदाच् छः प्रत्ययो भवति वैयकः ॥

143. The affix छ comes after the word पर्वत in the remaining senses.

This debars अच् ॥ Thus पर्वतयो राजा "the hill-king". पर्वतीयः पुंसः 'the hill man'.

विभाषा अमनुष्ये ॥ १४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा-अमनुष्ये-(छः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पर्वतपदाच् छः प्रत्ययो भवति वाअमनुष्ये वाच्ये ॥

144. The affix छ optionally comes in the remaining senses after the word पर्वत when it does not denote a man.

Thus पर्वतीयानि or पर्वतानि फलानि 'hill fruits', पर्वतीयमुरक् or पर्वतमुरक् 'hill water'.

Why do we say अमनुष्ये 'not-human? Observe पर्वतीयो मनुष्यः where there is no option allowed.

कृकणपर्णाद्भारद्वाजे ॥ १४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृकण-पर्णात्-भारद्वाजे-(छः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृकणपर्णपदाभ्यां भारद्वाजोद्यथापिभ्यां छः प्रत्ययो भवति वैयकः ॥

145. The affix छ comes in the remaining senses after कृकण and पर्ण when denoting the country of Bharadvāja.

The word देशे is understood here also. The word भारद्वाज does not here mean Gotra, but country. Thus कृकणीयम् and पर्णीयम् ॥

Why do we say "denoting country of Bharadvāja?" Observe कर्कष्यम्, पार्णम् &c.

अथ चतुर्थाध्यायस्य तृतीयः पादः ।

BOOK FOURTH.

CHAPTER THIRD.

युष्मदस्मदोरन्यतरस्यां खञ्च ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ युष्मद्-अस्मदोः-अन्य-तस्याम्-
खञ्च च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ युष्मदस्मदोः खञ्च प्रत्ययो भवति वैयिकः चकाराण्यञ्च ॥

1. The affix खञ्च also comes optionally in the remaining senses, after the words 'yushmad' and 'asmad.'

The regulating power of the word ऐषे ceases. The word च indicates that the affix may be छ as well. The word "optionally" shows that the general affix भञ्च may also be employed. Thus there are three affixes, खञ्च, छ and भञ्च, and hence there being no equal enumeration, the rule of mutual correspondence (I. 3. 10) does not apply.

The words युष्मद् and अस्मद् are Vṛddha, as they belong to Tyadādi class (I. 1. 74), and would have taken छ by IV. 2. 114; the present sūtra enjoins three affixes for each. Thus युष्मद्-भञ्च = युष्माक + भञ्च (IV. 3. 2) = योष्माकः युष्मद्-छ = युष्मद्-ईय = युष्मदीयः (VII. 1. 2). युष्मद्-खञ्च = युष्माक-ईन (IV. 3. 2) = योष्माकीन्ः (VII. 1. 2; and VIII. 4. 2). So also आस्माकः, अस्मदीयः, and आस्माकीन्ः ॥

तस्मिन्नणि च युष्माकास्माकौ ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्मिन् अणि-च-युष्माक-आ-
स्माकौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्मिन्नित्वासाहितः खञ्च निर्दिश्यते न चकारानुकृष्टः । तस्मिन्नाभि अणि च युष्मदस्म-
दोर्यथासंख्यं युष्माक अस्माक इत्येतावद्वैधौ भवतः ॥

2. When this affix खञ्च is added and when अण् is added, then युष्माक and अस्माक are the substitutes of युष्मद् and अस्मद् ॥

The pronoun तस्मिन् refers to the visible affix खञ्च, and not to the understood affix छ which was drawn into the last sūtra by the word च ॥

Why does the rule of mutual correspondence (I. 3. 10) not apply here, there being two affixes, two words, and two substitutes? This, however, is not

done, because the sūtra can be divided into two separate aphorisms : as (1) तस्मिन् स्वामि शुष्मस्त्वोद्युष्माकांस्माकौ भवतः (5) ततोऽपि च ॥ i. e. (1) when स्वम् is added, शुष्माक and भस्माक are the substitutes of शुष्मर् and भस्मर् respectively (2). So also when अण् follows.

As for illustrations, see the preceding Sūtra, e. g. यौष्माकीनः, भास्माकीनः with स्वम्, and यौष्माकः and भास्माकः with अण् ॥ This substitution does not take place when छ is added, as दुष्मरीयः and भस्मरीयः ॥

तद्यकममकाद्येकवचने ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ तद्यक-ममकौ-एकवचने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एकवचनपरयोद्युष्मस्त्वोद्युष्माकांस्तद्यक ममक इत्येतावदेषौ भवतो ब्यासंस्वं तस्मिन्स्वामि अणि च परतः ॥

3. In expressing one individual, तद्यक and ममक are the substitutes of 'yushmad' and 'asmad' respectively, when स्वम् and अण् follow.

As तावकीनः 'belonging to thee', मामकीनः "belonging to me." तावकः and मामकः ॥ But when the affix is छ, the form will लरीयः, मरीयः.

The word एकवचने should not be construed as meaning the affix of the singular number, as the affix झु ॥ Because the affix of the singular is always elided (लुक्) after these words, and by rule I. 1. 63, there will not be the application of this rule. This difficulty is, however, got over by explaining the word एकवचने as equal to एकार्ये ॥

अर्धोद्यत् ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अर्धोद्यत्-यत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अर्धोद्यत्वाद् यत् प्रत्ययो भवति शेषिकः ॥

4. The affix यत् comes after the word अर्ध in the remaining senses.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus अर्धोद्यत् 'belonging to half'

Vdt:—When it has a prior term the affix इम् is used. As बालियार्जिकम्, (बाल्यार्थवस्तु = बाल्ये) ॥ गीतमार्जिकम् ॥

परावराधमोत्तमपूर्वाच्च ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ पर-अवर-अधम-उत्तम-पूर्वात्-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पर अवर अधम उत्तम इत्येवंपूर्वाधार्याद्यत् प्रत्ययो भवति शेषिकः ॥

5. The affix यत् comes, in the remaining senses, after the word 'ardha', when preceded by 'para', 'avara', 'adhma', and 'uttama'.

Thus परार्द्धम्, अवर्द्धम्, अधमार्द्धम्, उत्तमार्द्धम् ॥

Q. Why do we say पूर्वात् 'preceded by' ? Its use seems to be superfluous. If the sūtra stood as परावराधमोत्तमेभ्यः, it would have given the same sense. For the अर्धोद्यत् being supplied from the last sūtra, the whole sūtra

would have been परावराधनोक्तनेभ्योऽर्धाद् यत् which must mean 'preceded by para &c.'

A. The words पर and अवर have meanings other than that of दिक् or direction. As परं सुखं 'highest pleasure.' अवरं सुखं 'lowest pleasure.' Therefore, when these words पर and अवर denote direction, then by the subsequent rule, the affix would have been always इम् and यत् ॥ The employment of the term पूर्व in the sūtra, prevents the application of the affix इम् even when the words denote direction.

According to the Vārtika सपूर्वपदाद् इम् given under the last sūtra, the word अर्धं preceded by any word would have taken इम्, hence the necessity of this sūtra ordaining यत्, when the first terms are पर &c.

दिक्पूर्वपदादुठञ्च ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिक्-पूर्व-पदात्-उठञ्च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिक्पूर्वपदादर्थान्ताव्याप्तिपरिकृता इम् प्रत्ययो भवति चकाराद्यश्च शैषिकः ॥

6. And the affix उठञ् also (as well as यत्) comes in the remaining senses after the word 'ardha,' when the prior term denotes a direction.

By च, the affix यत् is also used. This debars अम् ॥ Thus पूर्वार्धम् पौर्वाधिक्यं, दक्षिणार्धम् or दक्षिणार्धिक्यं ॥

The word पर is used in the sūtra in order to prevent ambiguity. Had the sūtra stood merely as दिक्पूर्वाद् उठञ्च, it might have meant (I.1.68), 'Ardha preceded by the word दिक् takes इम् also', for then स्वरूपविधि would have applied, and इगश्चातः would have taken the affix.

ग्रामजनपदैकदेशादुठञ्चो ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्राम-जनपद-एकदेशात्-अम्-उठञ्चो ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिक्पूर्वपदादित्येव । ग्रामैकदेशवाचिनो जनपदैकदेशवाचिनश्च प्रातिपरिकृतादिक्पूर्वपदादर्थान्तादुठञ्चो प्रत्ययो भवतः शैषिकौ यतोपपत्तौ ॥

7. The affixes अम् and उठञ् come in the remaining senses after the word 'ardha', preceded by a word denoting direction, when a particular portion of a village or an inhabited country is meant.

The phrase दिक्पूर्वपदात् is to be read into the sūtra. This debars यत् ॥ Thus इमे खट्वस्माकं ग्रामस्य जनपदस्य वा पौर्वाधाः or पौर्वाधिकाः "Those verily belong to the eastern half of our village or country". So also दक्षिणार्धाः or दक्षिणार्धिकाः ॥ The word पौर्वाद्धाः = ग्रामस्य पूर्वस्मिन्नर्धे भवाः and is a Taddhitārtha compound.

मध्यान्मः ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ मध्यात्-मः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मध्यमध्यान्मः प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

वार्धिक्यं ॥ आदिपति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वार्धिक्यं ॥ अवोपसोर्नोपच ॥

8. After the word मध्य there is the affix म in the remaining senses.

This debars मद् ॥ As मध्यः "middlemost".

Vdt:—So also after the word.आदि ॥ As आदिनः "Adam, or born in the beginning".

Vdt:—So also after the words भवत् and भवत्, the final स् being elided. As भवमयः, भवमयः ॥

अ सांप्रतिके ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अ-साम्प्रतिके ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अकारः प्रत्ययो भवति मध्यमसांप्रतिके आतासि प्रत्ययार्थे ।

9. The affix अ comes in the remaining senses after the word 'madhya', the meaning being 'fit' or 'proper.'

The word सांप्रतिक means 'equity, propriety, right, fit'. As नातिदीर्घे नाति दुस्वे मध्यं काष्ठम् "the proper piece of wood--neither too long nor too short". मध्ये वैशाकरणः "the fit Grammarian, neither too refined nor too dull". मध्याह्नी "a proper wife".

द्वीपादनुसमुद्रं यञ् ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वीपात्-अनुसमुद्रम्-यञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समुद्रसमीपे यो द्वीपस्तस्माद् यम् प्रत्ययो भवति शेषिकः ॥

10. The affix यञ् comes, in the remaining senses, after the word द्वीप, which is near the sea.

The word द्वीप occurs in the list of Kachchhādi (IV. 2. 133), and would have taken भञ्; and by sūtra IV. 2. 134, it would have taken बुम् also. The present sūtra debars both those affixes, when the word द्वीप means अनुसमुद्र or 'near the sea'.

Thus द्वेष्य 'living on or relating to an island'. As द्वेष्यं भवन्तोऽनुसरन्ति चक्रम् ॥

Why do we say अनुसमुद्र? Observe द्वेषकम् or द्वेषः (IV. 2. 133 and 134). The word 'anu-samudra' is an Avyayibhāva compound (II. 1. 15).

कालादठञ् ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ कालात्-ठञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कालविशेषवाचिनः प्रातिपदिकान् ठम् प्रत्ययो भवति शेषिकः ॥

11. The affix ठञ् comes in the remaining senses after the words denoting time.

This debars भञ् ॥ The affix छ which comes after Vṛiddha words is prohibited by this sūtra. Thus मासिकः 'monthly' आर्द्धमासिकः, 'bi-monthly', सावत्सरिकः 'annual'.

The words which denote time even indirectly, also take this affix. As कारम्बपुष्पिकं, त्रैविपालिकम् ॥ The word काल governs all the subsequent sūtras upto 25. (तत्र जातः).

आद्धे शरद्ः ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ आद्धे-शरद्ः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शरच्छब्दात् ठञ् प्रत्ययो भवति आद्धे अभिधेये शैषिकः ॥

12. The affix ठञ् comes in the remaining senses after the word शरद्, when expressing आद्ध ॥

This debars अण् (IV. 3. 16). The word आद्धे means the 'funeral oblation'; and not अद्धावान् इक्ष्वः 'a faithful or believing person'. Thus शारदिकं आद्धे 'the autumnal Śrāddha'. When not meaning 'Śrāddha', it will be शारदम् ॥

विभाषा रोगातपयोः ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा-रोग-आतपयोः (ठञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रोगे आतपे चाभिधेये शरच्छब्दाद् ठञ् प्रत्ययो वा भवति शैषिकः ॥

13. The affix ठञ् comes optionally in the remaining senses after the word शरद् when expressing illness or heat.

Thus शारदिकी रोगः 'the autumnal disease', शारदिक आतपः 'the autumnal heat or sunshine'.

Why do we say "when denoting sickness or heat"? Observe, शारदं दधि 'the autumnal curd'. This ठञ् debars the ऋतु अण् (IV. 3. 16).

निशाप्रदोषाभ्यां च ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ निशा-प्रदोषाभ्याम्-च (ठञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निशाप्रदोषशब्दाभ्यां विभाषा ठञ् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

14. The affix ठञ् comes optionally in the remaining senses after the words 'niśā', and 'pradosha':

This makes optional, where by sūtra IV. 3. 11 ante, the ठञ् would have been obligatory. Thus नैद्यम् or नैद्यिकम् 'nocturnal'. प्रादोषम् or प्रादोषिकम् ॥

श्वसस्तुद् च ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्वसः-तुद्-च-(ठञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्वः शब्दाद्विभाषा ठञ् प्रत्ययो भवति, तस्य च तुङागो भवति ॥

15. The affix ठञ् comes optionally in the remaining senses after the word श्वस् and it takes the augment तुद् ॥

The word श्वस् takes the affix ल्यप् by sūtra IV. 2. 105. This sūtra ordains ठञ् ॥ When free from the scope of these rules, it takes (tu and (tūl affixes also by IV. 3. 23. Thus श्वस्-तुद्-न-ठञ् = शौवस्-न-न-ठञ् (VII. 3. 3) = शौवस्तिकः "belonging to to-morrow or ephemeral". Otherwise श्वस्त्यः and श्वस्तनः ॥

सन्धिवेलाद्यृतुनक्षत्रेभ्योऽण् ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ सन्धि-वेलाद्, ऋतु-नक्षत्रेभ्यः,

अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सन्धिवेलादिभ्य ऋतुभ्यो नक्षत्रेभ्यश्च कालवृत्तिभ्योऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

16. The affix अण् comes in the remaining senses,

after the words 'sandhi-velâ' &c, and the words expressing 'season' and 'asterism.'

The word कालात् is to be read into the sūtra. All the words must be expressive of time. This debars हम् ॥ The repetition of अम् debars छ also in the case of those words, which are Vṛiddha in this list (IV. 2. 114). Thus (1) सान्धिवेलम्, सान्ध्यम् (2) वैष्णवम्, शैशिरम् (3) तैष्यम्, पौषम् are examples of sandhivelâ season and asterisms respectively.

The affix अम् is added to संवत्सर when denoting 'fruit' and 'festival, as संवत्सरे फले or पर्व ॥

1 संधिवेला, 2 संध्या, 3 अमावास्या, 4 चयोदशी, 5 चतुर्दशी, 6 पञ्चदशी, 7 पौर्णमासी, 8 प्रतिपद्, 9 संवत्सरास्त्रकलपर्वणोः ॥

प्रावृष एण्यः ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रावृषः-एण्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रावृषशब्दादेण्यः प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

17. The affix एण्य comes in the remaining senses after the word प्रावृष ॥

This debars the अम् of the last sūtra, though 'prāvṛṣh' is a season-denoting word. Thus प्रावृषेण्यो बलाहकः "the cloud belonging to the rainy season."

वर्षाभ्यष्टक् ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वर्षाभ्यः-ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वर्षाशब्दादठक् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

18. The affix ठक् comes in the remaining senses after the word वर्षा ॥

This debars अम् of IV. 3. 16. Thus वार्षिकमनुलेपनम् । The हक् has the force of साधु &c of IV. 3. 43 here.

छन्दासि ठक् ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दासि-(ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वर्षाशब्दात् छन्दासि विषये ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

19. In the Chhandas, the word 'varshā' takes the affix ठक् in the remaining senses.

This debars ठक्. The form will be the same, but there will be difference in accent. As नभश्च नभस्यश्च वार्षिकावृत् ॥ The word वृत् here means "month." i. e. Nabha and Navasya are two rainy months.

वसन्ताच्च ॥ २० ॥ वसन्ताच्च-(ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वसन्तशब्दात् छन्दासि विषये ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

20. In the Chhandas, the affix ठञ् comes in the remaining senses after the word 'vasanta.'

This debars अण् (IV. 3. 16). Thus मधुश्च माधवश्च वासन्तिकावृत् ॥

हेमन्ताच्च ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ हेमन्तात्-च-(ठञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हेमन्तशब्दाच्च छन्दासि विषये कश्च प्रत्ययो भवति शेषिकः ॥

21. In the Chhandas, the affix ठञ् comes in the remaining senses, after the word 'hemanta.'

This debars अण् (IV. 3. 16). Thus सहस्रश्च सहस्रद्वयश्च हेमन्तिकावृत् ॥ The making of two separate Sūtras of 20 and 21, is for the sake of the subsequent sūtra, in which the anuvṛitti of word हेमन्त only is taken.

सर्वत्राण् च तलोपश्च ॥ २२ ॥ एदा ने ॥ सर्वत्र-अण्-च-तलोपः-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हेमन्तशब्दावृत् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्सन्निधौगेन चास्त्व तकारलोपः ॥

22. The affix अण् comes always after the word 'hemanta,' and (before this affix) the letter त् of 'hemanta' is elided.

Thus हेमन्तश् वासुः 'wintery residence.' हेमन्तमुपलेपनम् ॥

The word सर्वत्र is used to show that the sūtra applies in the Chhandas as well as in the secular literature.

The word हेमन्त will take अण् by sūtra IV. 3. 16 as हेमन्ती पङ्क्तिः but there is no elision of त् there. Thus there are three forms हेमन्तः (IV. 3. 16), हेमन्तिकं (IV. 3. 21) and हेमनम् ॥

सायंचिरंप्राह्णेप्रगेव्ययेभ्यस्त्युलौ तुद् च ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सायम्-चिरम्-प्राह्णे-प्रगे-अव्ययेभ्यः-त्यु-त्युलौ-तुद्-च- ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सायमित्यादिभ्यश्चतुर्भ्योऽव्ययेभ्यश्च कालवाचिभ्यदुप दुपलौस्तस्तयोस्तुद् च ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ चिरपरकल्पपरिभ्यस्तो वक्तव्यः ॥ वार्तिकम् ॥ प्रगत्य छन्दसि गन्तोपश्च ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अमपश्चाद्विभुश्च ॥ वार्तिकम् ॥ अन्ताद्येति वक्तव्यम् ॥

23. After the words सायं 'at eve', चिरं 'for a long time', प्राह्णे 'in the fore-noon', प्रगे 'at dawn', and after Indeclinables expressing time, there are the affixes ट्यु and ट्युल् and their augment is तुद् ॥

The word कालात् is understood here also. Thus सायं-न-त्यु = सायं-न-तुद्-न-त्यु = सायंतनम् (VII. 1. 1) 'belonging to the evening'. चिरंतनम्, 'lasting', प्राह्णेतनम् 'what is of the forenoon', प्रागेतनम् 'what is of the early morn'.

The word सायं is a word ending in न् and is an Indeclinable. These

affixes would also come by virtue of its being an Indeclinable, after that सायं ॥ The present सायं is derived from the root सृ by adding the affix यञ् ॥ It always ends in ङ् when these affixes are added. The word चिरं always ends in ङ् ॥ प्राह्णे and प्रगे always end in ङ् ॥

As regards Indeclinables, the examples are सोपासनम् 'belonging to the night'. दिवातनम् 'belonging to the day'.

Vart :—The affix ङ् comes after the words चिर, पङ्क्तु and वरारि ॥ As चिरङ्गम्, पङ्क्तम्, and वरारिङ्गम् ॥

Vart :—The ण of प्रण in elided in the Chhandas before this affix ङ्, as, प्रङ्गम् ॥

Vart :—The affix ङिम् comes after कम्, भाङि and पभाङि; as, मयिम्, भाङिम् and पभाङिम् ॥

Vart :—So also after अन्त, as, अन्तिम् ॥

The difference between त्यु and त्युल is in accent, Thus सायन्तेन and सायन्तेन, चिरन्तेन and चिरन्तेन, प्राह्णेतेन and प्राह्णेतेन, प्रगेतेन, प्रगेतेन, दिवातेन and दिवातेन, सोपातेन and सोपातेन ॥

विभाषापूर्वाडापराडाभ्याम् ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा-पूर्वाङ्-अपराडाभ्याम्-
(दुश्च-दुश्चलौ-तुद्-च) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वाह्णापराह्णचक्षाभ्यां विभाषा दुश्चदुश्चलौ प्रत्ययो भवति, स्तुद् च तथोपगमः ॥

24. Optionally after the words पूर्वाङ्ग and अपराङ्ग, there are the affixes द्यु and द्युल् and their augment is तुद् ॥

In the alternative दृष् of IV. 3. 11 also occurs. As पूर्वाह्णेतेनम्, अपराह्णेतेनम् with त्यु, or पूर्वाह्णिकम् अपराह्णिकम् with त्हात्. With त्युल. we have पूर्वाह्णेतेनम् and अपराह्णेतेनम् ॥ The sign of the locative is not elided by rule VI. 3. 17. When the word is taken as incapable of having the case-affix, we have, पूर्वाह्णेतेनम् or पूर्वाह्णेतेनः ॥

तत्रजातः ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्र-जातः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अणायो धादयश्च प्रत्ययाः प्रकृतात्तेषामतः प्रभृत्यर्थाः समर्थविभक्तयश्च निदिश्यन्ते ॥ तथेति सप्तमीसमर्थाज्जात इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

25. The affixes ordained above or here after, come after a word in the 7th case in construction, in the sense of 'born or grown or originated there or then'.

The affixes अञ् &c. य &c. have been taught, but no particular sense was assigned to them. See IV. 2. 92. This sūtra gives one of the senses, and also declares the particular case in which the stem must be, to which the affix is to be added. Thus सुत्रेजातः = सुत्र + अञ् = सोत्रः 'born in Srughna'. So also माथुरः 'born in Mathura', औत्सः 'born in Utsa', औदपानः 'born in Udapāna',

राष्ट्रियः (IV. 2. 93), अवारपापीनः (IV. 2. 93) शाकलिकः (IV. 2. 117), माम्बाः (IV. 2. 94), मामीनः (IV. 2. 94), काशियकः (IV. 2. 95) भौम्भेयकः (IV. 2. 95).

प्रावृषष्टप् ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रावृषः-ठप् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रावृषश्चास्त्रमीसमर्थाज्जात इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

26. After the word प्रावृद् being in the 7th case-affix, there is the affix ठप् in the sense of produced therein.

This debars ण्य of sūtra IV. 3. 17. The ण् of ठप् is for the sake of accent. प्रावृषि जातः = प्रावृषकः 'produced in the rainy season'.

संज्ञायां शरदो बुञ् ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायां-शरदाः-बुञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शरदश्चास्त्रमीसमर्थाज्जात इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे बुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

27. The affix बुञ् comes after the word शरद् in the 7th case-affix, in the sense of 'born therein,' the whole word being a name.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus शारदका इर्माः 'the grass called Śāradaka'. शारदका बुञ्माः 'the pulse called Śāradaka.'

Why do we say संज्ञायां? Observe शारद् सस्यम् 'the autumnal crop.'

According to some, the word संज्ञायां governs all the succeeding sūtras up to IV. 3. 38.

पूर्वाह्णापराह्णाद्रार्द्रामूलप्रदोषावस्कराद् बुन् ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूर्वाह्ण-अपराह्ण-आर्द्रा-मूल-प्रदोष-अवस्कराद्-बुन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वाह्णादिभ्यः षष्ठेभ्यो बुन् प्रत्ययो भवति तच्च जात इत्येतस्मिन्निषये संज्ञायां गम्यमानायाम् ॥

28; The affix बुन् comes in the sense of 'born therein' after the words पूर्वाह्ण, अपराह्ण, आर्द्रा, मूल, प्रदोष, and अवस्कर, the whole being a Name.

Thus पूर्वाह्णकः, अपराह्णकः This debars IV. 3. 24. आर्द्रकः, मूलकः ॥ This debars अण् of IV. 3. 16. प्रदोषकः This debars ठप् of IV. 3. 14. अवस्करकः This debars the general अण् affix.

When it is not a Name, the other affixes are employed.

पथः पन्थ च ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पथः-पन्थ-च (बुन्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पथिषाश्चाद्बुन् प्रत्ययो भवति वा तच्च जात इत्येतस्मिन्निषये ॥

29. The affix बुन् comes after the word पथ, in the sense of 'produced therein', and thereby in the room of पथ, the substitute is पन्थ ॥

Thus पथि जातः = पन्थकः 'produced in the way.'

This debars the अञ् ॥

अमावास्याया वा ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ अमावास्यायाः-वा-(बुन्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अमावास्यायाश्चाद्बुन् प्रत्ययो भवति वा तच्च आत इत्येतस्मिन्निषेधे ॥

30. The affix बुन् comes optionally after the word amāvāsyā, in the sense of 'born therein'.

This debars अञ् of IV. 3. 16. Thus अमावास्याकः or अमावास्याः ॥ This affix बुन् is applied to the word अमावास्या also, on the maxim एकदेशविकृतस्यानन्वयत्वात् "That which has undergone a change in regard to one of its parts, is by no means in consequence of this change, something else than what it was before the change had taken place". Thus अमावास्याकः or अमावास्याः ॥

अ च ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अ-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अमावास्यायाश्चादचकारः प्रत्ययो भवति तच्च आत इत्येतस्मिन्निषेधे ॥

31. And the affix अ also is added to the word amāvāsyā, in the sense of 'born therein'.

This adds a third affix to the बुन् and अञ् already given. Thus अमावास्याः, अमावास्याकः, अमावास्याः ॥ So also after the word अमावास्या, as अमावास्याः, अमावास्याकः and अमावास्याः ॥

सिन्धुपकराभ्यां कन् ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सिन्धु-अपकराभ्याम्-कन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सिन्धुपकराभ्याम्-कन् प्रत्ययो भवति तच्च आत इत्येतस्मिन्निषेधे ॥

32. After the words 'sindhu' and 'apakara', there is the affix कन् in the sense of 'born therein'.

The word सिन्धु occurs in the Kachchhādi class and takes अञ् and बुन् (IV. 2. 133); and अपकर would have also taken अञ् under the general rule. This sūtra debars these affixes. Thus सिन्धुकः, अपकरकः ॥

अणञौ च ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अण्-अञौ-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सिन्धुपकराभ्याम्-अण्-अञौ-च प्रत्ययो भवतस्तच्च आत इत्येतस्मिन्निषेधे ॥

33. And the affixes अण् and अञ् come respectively after the words 'sindhu' and 'apakara', in the sense of 'produced therein'.

Thus सैन्धवः and आपकरः ॥

अविष्टाफल्युन्यनुराधास्वातितिष्यपुनर्वसुहस्ताविशाखापादायहुलाल्लुक् ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अविष्टा-फल्युनी-अनुराधा-स्वाति-तिष्य-पुनर्वसु-हस्त-विशाखा-अपादा-य-हुलात्-लुक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अविष्टादिभ्यः षष्ठ्येभ्यो नक्षत्रेभ्य आगतस्य जातार्ये लुक् भवति ॥ वास्तकीयः ॥ लुक्प्रकारेण चित्रारोवतीरोहिणीभ्यः स्त्रियामुपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ कल्गुन्यपादाभ्यां दानी वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अविद्यापादाभ्यां छापि वक्तव्यम् ॥

34. The affix denoting 'born therein' is elided by luk, after the words 'śravishthâ', 'phalgunî', 'anurâdhâ', 'svâtî', 'tishya', 'punarvasu', 'hasta', 'visâkhâ', 'ashâḍhâ', and 'bahula' all denoting asterisms.

The feminine affixes are also elided after these words by I. 2. 49. Thus अविद्यासु जातः = अविद्यः 'produced under Śravishthâ'. So also कल्गुनः, अनुराधा, स्वाति, तिष्यः, पुनर्वसु, हस्तः, विषाखः, अषाढः, बहुलः ॥ The 'Bahula' is another Name of the asterism कृत्तिका ॥

Vart:—So also the affix is elided after the asterisms चित्रा, रेवती and रोहिणी when the word is feminine. Thus चित्रायां जाता 'a woman produced under Chitra' will be called चित्रा ॥ So also रेवती, रोहिणी ॥ The feminine affix which would have been elided after the two words Revatî and Rohiṇî, by I. 2. 49. is reordained by IV. 1. 41, because these words belong to गौरादि class.

Vart:—The affixes इ and अन् come respectively after कल्गुनी and अषाढौ in forming the Feminine derivatives. As कल्गुनी (IV. 1. 15) and अषाढा ॥ The difference is in accent and meaning.

Vart:—The affix छप् also comes after 'Śravishthâ' and 'ashâḍhâ' As आविष्टीयः and आषाढीयः ॥

स्थानान्तगोशालखरशालाश्च ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्थानान्त-गोशाल-खरशाला-त्-च-(लुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्थानान्तात्प्रातिपदिकाद् गोशालशखरशालशब्दाज्जातार्ये प्रत्ययस्य लुग् भवति ॥

35. There is luk-elision of the affix denoting born therein after a word ending in 'sthâna', and after the words 'gosâla' and 'kharasâla'.

Thus गोस्थाने जातः = गोस्थानः, अश्वस्थानः, गोशालः, खरशालः ॥

वत्सशालाभिजिदश्वयुक्छतभिषजो वा ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ वत्स-शाला, अभिजि-त्-अश्वयुक्-शतभिषजो-वा (लुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वत्सशालादिभ्यः परस्य जातार्ये प्रत्ययस्य लुग्वा भवति ॥

36. There is optionally luk-elision of the affix denoting 'born therein' after the words 'vatsasâla', 'abhijit', 'asvayuk', and 'satabhik'.

As वत्सशालायां जातः = वत्सशालः or वात्सशालः, अभिजित् or आभिजितः, अश्वयुक् or आश्वयुजः, छतभिक् or छतभिषजः ॥ The two words वत्सशाल and वत्सशाला are both to be taken. These are all diversities of बहुल as used in the next sūtra.

नक्षत्रेभ्यो बहुलम् ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ नक्षत्रेभ्यः-बहुलम् (लुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नक्षत्रेभ्य उत्तरस्य जातार्ये प्रत्ययस्य बहुलं लुग्भवति ॥

37. There is diversely luk-elision of the affix denoting 'born therein', after an asterism.

Thus रोहिणः or रोहिणः (IV. 3. 16) मृगशिरा or मार्गशीर्षः (IV. 3. 16).

कृतलब्धक्रीतकुशलाः ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृत-लब्ध-क्रीत-कुशलाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सप्तमीसमर्थात्कृतलब्धक्रीतयोः यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

38. An affix (one of those already taught) comes after a word in the seventh case-affix, in the sense of 'done there', 'obtained there' 'bought there' 'dexterous therein'.

Thus कौशलः may mean "done in, or bought in, or obtained in, or skillful in Srughna". So also the words मायुरः, राष्ट्रियः ॥

प्रायभवः ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राय-भवः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सप्तमीसमर्थान् व्याप्तिपदिकात्प्रायभव इत्येतस्मिन्विषये यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

39. After a word being in construction in the 7th case, an affix (one of those ordained already) comes in the sense of 'generally found therein'.

The word प्रायः means something less than all i. e. abundant. Thus कौशलः 'what is abundant or mostly to be found in Srughna', = कुशले प्रायेण बाहुल्येन भवति. So also मायुरः, राष्ट्रियः &c.

This sūtra may appear to be superfluous as being covered by the more comprehensive sūtra सत्प्रभवः (IV. 3. 53). If प्रायभवः be explained as अनित्यभवः i. e. what sometimes is to be found and sometimes not, still it will make little difference.

उपजानूपकर्णोपनीवेष्टक् ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ उपजानु-उपकर्ण-उपनीवे-ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपजान्वादिभ्यः षष्ठ्येभ्यः सप्तमीसमर्थेभ्यः प्रायभव इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

40. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'mostly to be found there,' after the words 'upajānu,' 'upakarna,' and upanīvi,' being in the 7th case in construction.

This debars अण् &c. Thus औपजानुकः, औपकर्णिकः औपनीविकः ।

संभूते ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ सम्भूते ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सप्तमीसमर्थान् व्याप्तिपदिकात् संभूतइत्येतस्मिन्विषये यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

41. After a nominal-stem or a word ending in the feminine affix डी and आष्, being in the 7th case in construc-

tion, an affix comes in the sense of 'adapted therein.'

Except the word 'adapted' which is the meaning of the word संभूत, all the other words of the sūtra have been supplied from the previous aphorisms. The word संभूत does not mean in this sūtra 'origin' or 'existence', for the word जात and भव already express that notion. It here means 'suitableness' 'adequacy' i. e. भवकल्पितः and प्रमाणातिरेकः ॥

Thus सुप्ते संभवादि = सौप्तः 'what is suited to the country of Sruugna.' So also मायुर, राष्ट्रियः ॥ The word तत्र is understood here also.

कोशाद्दञ् ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कोशात्-दञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कोशाद्दञ् इह प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र संभूतइत्यस्मिन्विषये ॥

42. The affix दञ् comes after the words कोश in the sense of 'adapted to that.'

This debars अण् ॥ Thus कोशे संभूतं = कोशयं वस्त्रम् 'silken clothes.'

The word कोश means 'cocoon.' कोशयः may literally therefore mean 'anything suited to the cocoon,' and may apply to the caterpillar as well as to the silk made out of cocoon. The word कोशेय is however कूटि and means 'silken.' Nor does it mean 'suited to the sheath,' as a sword, though kośa means 'sheath' also. This sūtra would have been more properly placed after IV. 3. 134, under the heading of विकार rather than of संभूतः ॥

In fact after the sūtra एण्या-इम् (IV. 3. 159), the addition of कोशाच्च would have been more appropriate.

कालात्साधुपुष्प्यत्पच्यमानेषु ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कालात्-साधु-पुष्प्यत्-पच्यमा-

नेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कालविशेषवाचिभ्यः सप्तमीसमर्थेभ्यः साध्वादिभ्येषु यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

43. An affix comes after a word denoting time, being in the 7th case in construction, in the sense of 'being good,' 'flowering' or 'ripening therein'.

Thus हेमन्ते साधुः = हेमन्तः 'what is good or pleasant in autumn' as हेमन्तः प्राकारः शैशिमनुलेपम् ॥ So also वसन्ते पुष्प्यन्ति = वासन्त्यः कुन्दलताः 'vernal creepers i. e. which flower in spring', वैष्ण्वः पाटलाः ॥ So also शरदि पच्यन्ते = शारदाः शालवः 'the grains that ripen in autumn'. वैष्ण्वा यवाः 'the barley that ripens in summer'.

This sūtra teaches the base and the sense of the affix. It does not directly teach the affix. The above illustrations are examples of the affix अण् &c.

उत्ते च ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ उत्ते, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कालादिति च । सप्तमीसमर्थकालवाचिनः प्रातिपदिकादुत्ते यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

44. An affix comes after a word denoting time, being in the 7th case in construction, meaning 'sown therein'.

Thus हेमन्ते उष्यन्ते - हेमन्ता यवाः 'the barley sown in autumn.' मैष्णा व्रीहयः ॥

The separation of this sūtra from the last, is for the sake of the subsequent sūtra in which the anuvṛitti of उप् only goes, which could not have been the case had this word been included in the last sūtra.

आश्वयुज्या बुञ् ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आश्वयुज्याः, बुञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आश्वयुजीशब्दाद् बुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति उत्तरे ॥

45. The affix बुञ् comes in the sense of 'sown' after the word आश्वयुजी ॥

This debars डम् ॥ Thus आश्वयुज्या मुष्ठाः - आश्वयुजका भाषाः 'the pulse sown in Āśvayujī.' It is the name of the full-moon in the Asterism of Āśvinī. Āśvayuj and Āśvinī are the same. Some texts read अश्वनी instead of अश्विनी ॥

ग्रीष्मयसन्तादन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्रीष्म-यसन्तात्-अन्यतरस्याम्- (बुञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्रीष्मयसन्तशब्दाभ्यामन्यतरस्यां बुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति उत्तरे ॥ कृत्वणोपवाहः ॥

46. The affix बुञ् comes optionally after the words 'grishma' and 'vasanta', in the sense of 'sown'.

This debars अण् (IV. 3. i6). Thus मैष्णम् or मैष्णकम् सत्यम् 'the crop sown in summer'. वासन्तम् or वासन्तकम् ॥

देयमृणे ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ देयम्-ऋणे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सप्तमीसमर्थात्कालवाचिनः प्रातिपदिकादेयमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति यद् देयमृणं चेत् तद् भवति ॥

47. After a nominal stem being in the 7th case in construction, denoting time, an affix comes in the sense of 'being then due'; provided that the thing due be 'debt'.

Thus मासे देयमृणं - मासिकं "a debt due in a month". मासैर्मासिकम्, सांवत्सरिकम् ॥ Why do we say ऋणे 'it being a debt'. Observe मासदेया निष्ठा where no affix is added.

कलाप्यश्वत्थयवबुसाद्वुन् ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कलापि, अश्वत्थ, यव, बुसात्, वुन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कलापि अश्वत्थ यवबुस इत्येतेभ्यः कालवाचिभ्यः सप्तमीसमर्थेभ्यो देयमृणमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे वुन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

48. The affix वुन् comes in the sense of 'debt then due,' after the words कलापिन्, अश्वत्थ, and यवबुस denoting time

and being in the 7th case in construction.

The words कलापी &c are words which indirectly denote time. Thus the time in which the peacocks mate and make noise is called कलापी ॥ The time in which the aśvatha tree fructifies is called अश्वत्थः ॥ The time in which barley is thrashed out is called यवशुस 'barley-chaff'. Thus कलापि-निकाले देयमृणं = कलापकम् 'a debt to be paid when the peacocks make noise (i. e. mating or rainy season) tails.' अश्वत्थकम् and यवशुसकम् ॥

ग्रीष्मावरसमाद्बुञ् ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्रीष्म-अवर-समात्, बुञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्रीष्मावरसमाच्छायां बुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति देयमृणमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ॥

49. The affix बुञ् comes in the sense of 'debt-due' after the words 'grīshma' and 'avarasama'.

This debars the अण् and ङम् ॥ Thus ग्रीष्मेदेयमृणं = भेषकम् ॥ So also आवरसमकम् ॥ This affix causes Vṛiddhi, while बुञ् would not have done it. Hence the separate affix. The word समा is synonymous with वर्ष 'a year'. The word आवरसमकम् means either आगामिनां संवत्सराणामाद्यवत्सरे देयम् or अतीति वत्सरे देयं यद्यपि न वक्ष्यम् ॥

संवत्सराग्रहायणीभ्यां ङञ्च ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ संवत्सर-आग्रहायणीभ्यां-ङ-ञ्च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संवत्सराग्रहायणीभ्यां ङञ्च प्रत्ययो भवति, चकाराद् ङञ्चदेयमृणमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ संवत्सरास्फलपर्वणोरिति वक्ष्यते ॥

50. The affix ङञ् also (as well as बुञ्) comes after the words 'samvatsara' and 'agrāhāyaṇī' in the sense of 'debt due.'

Thus संवत्सरे देयमृणं = सांवत्सारिकं, and सांवत्सरकं ॥ आग्रहायणिकं or आग्रहायणकं ॥

The word संवत्सर occurs in Sandhiveladi Class (IV. 3. 16) and takes अण् when 'fruit' or 'festivity' is meant. The present sūtra enjoins ङञ् when 'debt' is indicated.

व्याहरति मृगः ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ व्याहरति मृगः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कालवापिनः सप्तमीसमर्थाप्यातिपदिकाद् व्याहरति मृगः इत्येतस्मिन्निषये यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

51. An affix comes after a word in the 7th case in construction, denoting time, in the sense of 'who then wanders', and the word so formed refers to a wild beast.

Thus निशायां व्याहरति मृगः = नैशः "an animal that wanders at night." So also प्राहोषः or प्राहोषिकः (I V. 3. 14) 'a brute that yells in the morning.'

Why do we say वृत्तः 'a beast'? Observe निशाब्दां व्याहरति उक्तः ॥ Here there is no affixing. The word व्याहरति also means 'to make noise.' The Sûtra may, therefore, also be translated as: "After a word denoting time, an affix (IV. 1. 83) comes in expressing a wild beast who makes noise at that time".

तदस्य सोढम् ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ तद्-अस्य-सोढम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदिति प्रथमासमर्थाल्कालवाचिनः प्रातिपदिकारत्येति वृत्तपर्ये यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति यत्प्रथमासमर्थे सोढम्येत्तन्नवति ॥

52. An affix comes after a word in the 1st case in construction denoting time, in the sense of 'this is his habit or endurance'.

The word कालात् is understood here also. तद्=that: सोढम्=जितम् or अभ्यस्तं "endured or habituated". Thus निशा सहचरितमभ्ययनं=निशा "reading by night". तन् सोढमस्य छात्रस्य=भैद्यः or भैद्यिकः 'a student who is habituated or enured to reading by night'. So प्राज्ञेपिकः or प्राज्ञेपः ॥

तत्र भवः ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्र, भवः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्रेति सप्तमीसमर्थान् व्याप्प्रातिपदिकारत्वं इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

53. An affix comes after a word in the 7th case in construction, in the sense of 'who stays there'.

The anuvṛtiti of कालात् ceases. The sense of भव here is 'existence', and not that of 'birth': because the sense of 'birth' is taught in sūtra तच्च जातः (IV. 3. 25). Thus, वृद्धे भवः=सौमः "who stays in Srughna". मायुरः, राष्ट्रियः ॥

The repetition of तच्च in the sūtra though its annuvṛtiti could have been drawn from the previous sūtras, is for the sake of stopping the annuvṛtiti of तदस्य ॥

दिगादिभ्यो यत् ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिगादिभ्यः-यत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिग् इत्येवमादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो यत्प्रत्ययो भवति तच्च भव इत्येतस्मिन्निषेधे ॥
वारिकम् ॥ उरकात्संज्ञायात् ॥

54. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'who stays there', after the Nominal stems दिक् &c.

This debars अष् and छ ॥ As दिशि भवं=दिव्यम् 'lying in a particular quarter', वर्ग्यम् ॥

The words मुख and जपन which ordinarily mean 'mouth' and 'hip' respectively, have not this meaning when this affix is to be added. They must refer to non-corporeal or abstract objects. As सेनामुखं 'who stays in the van of the army'. सेनाजपन्यं 'who stays in the rear of the army'. In

fact, the words 'mukha' and 'jaghana' here mean the 'van' and the 'rear' of an army. The word उद्क् takes this affix, when the word so formed is a Name. As उद्क्या = राजस्वल्, otherwise we have औद्की मत्स्यः ॥

1 दिष्ट, 2 वर्ग, 3 पूग, 4 गण, 5 पक्ष, 6 धाम्य (धाम्या) 7 मित्र, 8 मेधा, 9 अन्तर, 10 पथि-
न्, 11 रहस्, 12 अलीक, 13 दया, 14 साक्षिन्, 15 देष्ट*, 16 आदि, 17 अन्त, 18 मुख, 19 जघन, 20
मेघ, 21 दूय, 22 उदकास्तज्ञायाम्, 23 न्याय, 24 वंश, 25 वेष्ट (विष्ट) 26 काल, 27 आकाश, 28
अनुवृष्टः ॥

शरीरावयवाच्च ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ शरीर-अवयवात्-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शरीरावयववाचिनः प्रातिपदिकाद् प्रत्यययो भवति तच्च भव इत्येतस्मिन्निषेधे ॥

55. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'what stays there' after a word denoting a part of the body.

This debars अण् ॥ As इन्तेषु भवं = इन्त्यम् 'dental i. e. what stays there, कर्ण्यम्, ओष्ठ्यम् ॥ So also पादे भवं = पद्यं (VI. 3. 53), नासिकायां भवं = नस्यम् ॥

इतिकुक्षिकलशिवस्यस्यहेर्दञ् ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ इति-कुक्षि-कलशि-वस्ति-अ-
स्ति-अहेः ढञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इत्यादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो ढञ् प्रत्ययो भवति तच्च भव इत्येतस्मिन्निषेधे ॥

56. The affix ढञ् comes in the sense of 'what stays there', after the words 'driti'. 'kukshi', 'kalasi', vasti' 'asti' and 'ahi'.

Thus शर्तैयम् 'what stays in a leathern bag', कौशेयम्, कालशेयम्, वास्तेयम्, आस्तेयम् and आहियम् ॥ आहियम् is the name of a poison. The word अस्ति is a noun and not a verb here. Its use as a Noun is to be seen in phrases like अस्तिशीरा गौः, अस्तिमान् = धनवान् ॥

ग्रीवाभ्योऽण् च ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्रीवाभ्यः-अण्- च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्रीवाभ्यामण्प्रत्ययो भवति चकाराद्ढञ्च, तच्च भव इत्येतस्मिन्निषेधे ॥

57. The affix अण् also (as well as ढञ्) comes after the word 'grivā' in the sense of 'what stays there'.

This debars यत् (IV. 3. 55) ग्रीवासु भवं = प्रवेयम् or भवम् ॥ The word ग्रीवा means blood-vessels, and as they are many, the word is used in the plural in the sūtra.

गम्भीराज्यः ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ गम्भीरात्-ज्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गम्भीराज्याद् ज्यः प्रत्ययो भवति तच्च भव इत्येतस्मिन्निषेधे अणोपवादः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ बहिर्वेषपञ्चजनेभ्यश्चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वार्तिकम् ॥ अनुमासाद् यत्ते उपो वक्तव्यः ॥

58. The affix ज्य comes in the sense of 'who stays there', after the word 'gambhīra'.

This debars अव् ॥ गम्भीरे नव = गाम्भीर्बन् 'gravity'.

Vart.—So also after बहिः, देव and वंचजन. As बाह्यन्, ऐष्यन् and वंचजन्यन् ॥ The final of बहिस् is elided by the vārtika under IV. 1. 85. The word 'daivya' could be also formed under another Vārtika of the same.

Vart.—The affix ह्य comes after chaturmāsa in the sense of a sacrifice; as, चातुर्मास्यानि व्रतानि, चातुर्मास्यो यज्ञः, otherwise चातुर्मासः ॥

अव्ययीभावाच्च ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अव्ययीभावात्-च (ह्यः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अव्ययीभावसंज्ञकात् प्रातिपदिकाच्च अच् प्रत्ययो भवति तच्च भव इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

59. After an Avyayībhāva Compound, the affix ह्य is employed, in the sense of 'who stays there.'

This debars अव् ॥ The affix ह्य however, does not come after every Avyayībhāva Compound, but only after the words included in the list of परिमुखादि as given in the Gaṇapāṭha.

Thus परिमुखं भवं = परिमुख्यम्, So also परिहृन्म्यम् ॥ Not so औपकुलम्, the word उपकुल not belonging to the class परिमुख ॥

1 परिमुख, 2 परिहृन्, 3 पयोध, 4 पटुल, 5 औपमूल, 6 खल, 7 परिसीर, 8 अनुसीर, 9 उपसीर, 10 उपत्यल, 11 उपकलाप, 12 अनुपय, 13 अनुसङ्ग, 14 अनुतिल, 15 अनुशीत, 16 अनुनाथ, 17 अनुयव, 18 अनुयुप, 19 अनुबंध, 20 अनुगङ्ग, 21 प्रतिघात, 22 अनुसाध ॥

अन्तःपूर्वपदादठञ् ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तः-पूर्व-पदात्- ठञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अव्ययीभावादित्येव । अन्तःशब्दो विभक्त्यर्थे समस्यते, । तत्पूर्वपदादव्ययीभावाद्ठञ् प्रत्ययो भवति तच्च भव इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ समानशब्दादठञ् वक्तव्यः ॥	वार्तिकम् ॥ तदादिभ्यः ॥
वा० ॥ अभ्यास्मादिभ्यश्च ॥	वा० ॥ ऊर्ध्वरेभाच्च ठञ् वक्तव्यः ॥
वा० ॥ ऊर्ध्वरेभाच्च ॥	वा० ॥ लोकोत्तरपदाच्च ॥
वा० ॥ मुख्यपार्श्वशब्दाभ्यां तसन्ताभ्यामीबः प्रत्ययो वक्तव्यः ॥	
वा० ॥ जनपरयोः कुक्च ॥	वा० ॥ मध्यशब्दादीबः ॥
वा० ॥ मण्णीयो च प्रत्ययो वक्तव्यो ॥	वा० ॥ मध्यो मध्यं दिनम् चास्मात् ॥
वा० ॥ स्यान्नो लुग्वक्तव्यः ॥	वा० ॥ अजिनान्ताच्च ॥

Kārikā समानस्य तदादिभ्यः अभ्यास्मादिषु वैच्यते ।
ऊर्ध्वरेभाच्च रेभाच्च लोकोत्तरपदाच्च च ॥
मुखपार्श्वतसोरीयः कुग्जनस्य परस्य च ॥
ईबः कार्योय मध्यस्य मण्णीयो प्रत्ययो तथा ॥
मध्यो मध्यं दिनम् चास्मात्स्यान्नो लुगजिनात्तथा ॥

60. After an Avyayībhāva compound, having the word अन्तर as prior term, the affix ठञ् is employed, in the sense of 'who stays there.'

This debars अण् ॥ Thus आन्तर्देहिकम्, आन्तर्गेहिकम् ॥

Vart.—The affix ठञ् comes after समान, as समाने भवं = सामानिकम् ॥

Vart.—So also after a word beginning with समान, as, सामानप्रामाणिकम्, सामान देशिकम्.

Vart.—So also after the words अभ्यात्मन्, &c as, आभ्यात्मिकम्, आधिदैविकम्, आधिभौतिकम् ॥ The class अभ्यात्मादि is Ākṛitigaṇa.

Vart.—So also after ऊर्ध्वन्मः as, और्ध्वन्मिकः ॥ The word 'ūrdhva' is a synonym of ऊर्ध्वम् ॥

Vart.—So also ऊर्ध्वदेह, as और्ध्वदेहिकम् ॥

Vart.—So also after a compound having the word लोक as second term; as, ऐहलौकिकम्, पारलौकिकम् ॥

Vart.—The words मुख्य and पार्श्व ending in त्सु, take the affix ईय; as, मुख्यतीयम्, पार्श्वतीयम् ॥

Vart.—The affix ईय comes after जन and पर with the augment कुक्, as जनकीयम्, परकीयम् ॥

Vart.—The affix ईय comes after मध्य, as, मधीयः ॥

Vart.—So also the affix मण् and मीय come after मध्य; As. माध्यमम्, माध्यमीयम् ॥

Vart.—So also the affix दिनण् (दिनम् in Padamanjari) comes after मध्य, whereby it becomes मध्यम् as माध्यन्दिनम् in माध्याह्निके उपगच्छति ॥

Vart.—There is elision of the affix after the word स्थास, as, अभ्यस्त्याना ॥

Vart.—So also there is elision after the words ending in अजिन, as वृकाजिनः, सिंहजिनः

ग्रामात्पर्यनुपूर्वात् ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्रामात्-परि-अनु- पूर्वात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्रामाद्व्यान्तादव्ययीभावात्परि अनु इत्येवपूर्वाद्ठञ् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र भव इत्येतस्मिन्निषेधे ॥

61. After the word 'grāma', preceded by 'pari' or 'anu', (the whole being an Avyayībhāva), there is the affix ठञ् in the sense of 'who stays there'.

This-debars अण् ॥ Thus पारिप्रामाणिकः, आनुप्रामाणिकः ॥

जिह्वामूलाङ्गुलेश्छः ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ जिह्वामूल-अङ्गुलेः- छः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जिह्वामूलस्याङ्गुलिश्छः प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र भव इत्येतस्मिन्निषेधे ॥

62. After the words 'jihvāmūla', and 'anguli' there is the affix छ in the sense of 'what stays there'.

This debars वत् (IV. 3. 55). Thus जिह्वामूलीवत्, मंगुलीवत् ॥
वर्गान्ताच्च ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वर्गान्तात्-च (छ)

वृत्तिः ॥ वर्गान्तान्ताच्च प्रातिपदिकाच्च छः प्रत्ययो भवति तच्च भव इत्येतस्मिन्निषेधे अनोपवादः ॥

63. After a word ending with 'varga', the affix छ is employed in the sense of 'what occurs there'.

This debars मत् ॥ As कर्णार्णवत्, चवर्गीवत् ॥

अशब्दे यस्मावन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अशब्दे-यत्-सौ-अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वर्गान्तादित्येव । अशब्दावन्यस्मिन्मन्त्राद्यर्थे वर्गान्ताप्रातिपदिकान्यतरस्यां बत्सौ प्रत्ययो भवतः ॥

64. After a word ending in 'varga', but not meaning a 'letter or word', the affixes यत् and सौ are optionally employed, in the sense of 'who stays there'.

As वासुदेववर्गः (by यत्), वासुदेववर्गीजः, (by सौ), and वासुदेववर्गीकः (by छ) ॥
पुंलिङ्गवर्गः 'वर्गीजः' or 'वर्गीकः' ॥

Of course, when the word means 'शब्द' it takes one affix only i.e. छ ; as कर्णार्णव वर्णः 'a letter belonging to क class'.

कर्णललाटात्कनलंकारे ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्ण-ललाटात्-कन् अलङ्कारे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्णललाटादशब्दाभ्यां कन् प्रत्ययो भवति तच्च भव इत्येतस्मिन्निषेधेऽलङ्कारेऽभिधेये ॥

65. The affix कन् comes in the sense of 'what occurs there', after 'karna' and 'lalât', the word denoting an ornament.

This debars यत् (IV. 3. 55). Thus कर्णिका 'an ear-ring', ललाटिका ॥

Why do we say 'denoting an ornament, ? Observe कर्ण्यन् 'what is in the ear', ललाट्यन् ॥

तस्य व्याख्यान इति च व्याख्यातव्यनाम्नः ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्य-व्याख्याने-इति-च व्याख्यातव्यनाम्नः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्येति षष्ठीसमर्थाद् व्याख्यातव्यनाम्नः प्रातिपदिकाद्व्याख्याने अभिधेये यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति तच्च भवे च ॥

66. After the name of a subject of commentary, an affix comes in the sense of 'its commentary', as well as, in the sense of 'what occurs there'.

That by which a thing is explained is called व्याख्यान 'commentary'. The name of a thing explainable is called व्याख्यातव्यनाम्नः ॥ After such a name, being in the 6th case in construction, the affix is added. The affix means तस्यव्याख्यानं as well as तत्त्वमव, the latter being read into the sūtra by virtue of च ॥

Thus सुपां व्याख्यानः = सौपो ग्रन्थः 'Saupa, a book on the explanation of case-affixes'. So also तैङ्गः 'Tainga--a Commentary on Verbal affixes' कर्तः 'Kārta--a Commentary on kṛit affixes'. सौप &c. may also mean सुप्सु भवं &c.

Why do we say व्याख्यातव्यनाम्नः 'after the name of the thing explainable'? The thing to be explained must be a Book, therefore, the affix will not apply to the name of a city &c. For example, if a model be made to describe the city of Pāṭaliputra, such a model will not be named after Pāṭaliputra by the addition of affix. Thus सुकोशम् is a modal giving a description of Pāṭaliputra. This will not be called Pāṭaliputram.

The anuvṛtti of भव and व्याख्यान runs simultaneously in all the subsequent apavāda sūtras, and hence we have read the anuvṛtti of भव into this sūtra also.

बहुचोन्तोदात्तादृष् ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुचः-अन्तोदात्तात् ठञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बहुचो व्याख्यातव्यनाम्नः प्रातिपदिकान्तोदात्ताद्भवव्याख्यानयोश्च प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

67. The affix ठञ् comes in the senses of 'staying' and 'a commentary', after a polysyllabic word having udātta on the final, (the word being the name of a thing to be explained).

This debars अण् ॥ Thus पाठ्यणसिकम् 'a commentary of the rules of changes of स and न into ष and ण' ॥ नातानतिकम् 'a commentary on (अनन्त) udātta and anudātta (नन्त)' ॥ The radicals पठ्यणस्व and नतानन्त are acutely accented on the final by the rule of a compound having accent on the final (VI. 1. 169)

Why do we say बहुचः 'polysyllabic'? Observe सौपम्, तेढम् &c. A word of two syllables will take ठञ् (IV. 3. 72). So the counter example must be of words of one syllable.

Why do we say 'having acute accent on the final'? Observe सांहितम् from संहिता ॥ This word has acute accent on the initial by the rule of Gati-accent (VI. 2. 49)

क्रतुयज्ञेभ्यश्च ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्रतु-यज्ञेभ्यः, च (ठञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रतुभ्यो यज्ञेभ्यश्च व्याख्यातव्यनाम्नः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो भवव्याख्यानयोरर्थयोश्च प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

68. The affix ठञ् comes, in the senses of 'occurring', and 'a commentary', after the name of a work to be explained, provided that such work relates to a kratu or a yajña.

This debars अण् ॥ Kratu :—अग्निहोमिकः 'a commentary on a work on Aginshṭoma sacrifices? वाजपेयिकः, राजसूयिकः ॥ yajña:—पाकयज्ञिकः, नावयज्ञिकः ॥

This sūtra refers to words which are not antodātta. The words 'vājapeya' and 'rājasūya' are acute in the middle.

The words क्रतु and यज्ञ mean generally the same thing i. e. 'a sacrifice', but the separate mention of यज्ञ implies that the rule applies to yajñas other than Soma-yajñas because the word 'kratu' is technically applied to Soma-sacrifices only. Thus पाञ्चीरानिकः, राघीरानिकः ॥

The sūtra is in the plural to prevent the application of the affix to the word-forms 'kratu' and 'yajña' (I. 1. 68).

अध्यायेष्वेवैः ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अध्यायेषु-एव-ऋचे, (ठञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋषिचरितः प्रवरानां धेयानि तेभ्य ऋषिचरितेभ्यो भवम्याख्यानयोरर्थयोऽङ्गम् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

69. The affix ठञ् comes after the name of an explainable work called after a Rishi, in the senses of 'occurring therein' or 'a commentary thereon', when it refers to an Adhyāya only.

The word ऋषि is the name of प्रवर and those Rishis are only meant whose names are in the Pravara list. The word so formed means always an Adhyāya or Chapter of the work. The phrase व्याख्यातव्यनामः is understood in this sūtra, hence the word ऋषि means "a work the author of which is a Rishi".

Thus वसिष्ठस्य व्याख्यानस्तत्र भवो वा—वासिष्ठिकोऽध्यायः "Vāsishṭhika—a chapter containing commentary on Vashishṭha". वैश्वामित्रिकः 'a chapter of commentary on Viśvāmītra'.

Why do we say meaning 'chapter'? Observe वासिष्ठी ऋक् ॥

पौरोडाशपुरोडाशात् छन् ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ पौरोडाश-पुरोडाशात्-छन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पौरोडाशस्य त्पुरोडाशस्य च भवम्याख्यानयोरर्थयोः छन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

70. The affix छन् comes in the senses of 'occurring therein' and 'a commentary thereon', after the words 'pauroḍāsa' and 'puroḍāsa'.

The verses on the purification &c of Puroḍāsa 'a sacred cake', are called पौरोडाश, the commentary on such pauroḍāsa mantras will be called पौरोडाशिकः. Its feminine will be पौरोडाशिकी (IV. 1. 41). A book on Puroḍāsa cake is called पुरोडाश; a commentary there on will be पुरोडाशिकः f. पुरोडाशिकी (IV. 1. 41). The ण of the affix indicates that the feminine is formed by ङीष् (IV. 1. 41). The commentary here refers to the 'mantras' or verses relating to Puroḍāsa, and not to the sacrifice.

छन्दसो यदणौ ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसः-यत्-अणौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दः छान्दस्य व्याख्यानयोरर्थयोर्वदणौ प्रत्ययो भवतः ॥

71. The affixes यत् and अण् come in the senses of 'occurring therein' and 'a commentary thereon', after the word Chhandas.

This debars ङक् of the following sūtra. As छन्दस्यः or छान्सः ॥

ब्रह्मजृद्धब्राह्मणर्कप्रथमाध्वरपुरध्वरणनामाख्याताद् ठक् ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ ब्रह्मजृद्ध-
ब्राह्मण-ऋक्-प्रथम-अध्वर-पुरध्वरण-नाम-आख्यातात्-ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ब्रह्मादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो व्याख्यातव्यनामभ्यो भवव्याख्यानयोर्ययोश्चक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

72. The affix ठक् comes in the senses of 'occurring therein' and 'a commentary thereon', after a word of two syllables, and a word ending in short दृ, and the words 'brahmana', 'rik', 'prathama', 'adhvara', 'purascharana', 'nama', 'akhyata' and 'namakhyata', being the names of explainable works.

This debars अण् and इम् ॥ 1. Dissyllabic:—रेटिकः, पाणुकः ॥ 2. Ending in दृ:—चातुर्होतृकः, पांचहोतृकः ॥ So also ब्राह्मणिकः, आर्थिकः, प्राथमिकः, आध्वरिकः, पौरध्वरिकः, नामिकः, आख्यातिकः, नामाख्यातिकः ॥

अणुगयनादिभ्यः ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अण्-अणुगयनादिभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अणुगयनादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो भवव्याख्यानयोर्ययोरण् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

73. The affix अण् comes in the senses of 'occurring therein' and 'a commentary thereon' after the words 'rigayana' &c.

This debars इप्, इक् and छ ॥ आर्गयनः, पारव्याख्यानः ॥

The repetition of अण् in the sūtra, though the annuvṛitti of this affix was coming from before, is for the sake of preventing the application of any subsequent apavāda rule to the words in this list. Thus वास्तुविद्यः ॥

1 ऋगयन, 2 पारव्याख्यान, 3 छन्दोगान, 4 छन्दोभाषा, 5 छन्दोविधिति, 6 न्याय, 7 पुनरुक्त, 8 निरुक्त, 9 व्याकरण, 10 निगम, 11 वास्तुविद्या, 12 क्षत्रविद्या, 13 ब्रह्मविद्या, 14 विद्या, 15 उत्पात, 16 उत्पाद, 17 उच्चाव, 18 संवत्सर, 19 मुहूर्त, 20 उपनिषद्, 21 निमिष, 22 शिक्षा, 23 भिक्षा, 24 छन्दोवि-
जिनी 25 व्याख. ॥

तत आगतः ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ततः, आगतः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत इति पञ्चमीसमर्पादागत इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहित प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

74. An affix (IV. 1. 83 &c) comes after a word being in 5th case in construction, in the sense of 'what has come thence'.

Thus ब्रह्मादागतः = सौत्तः 'what has come from Srughna'. मायुरः, राद्विषः ।

ठगायस्थानेभ्यः ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ठक्-आयस्थानेभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आय इति स्वामिभाहो भाग उच्यते स यस्मिन्नुत्पद्यते तदायस्थानम् । आयस्थानवाचिभ्यः प्रा-
तिपदिकेभ्यश्चक् प्रत्ययो भवति तत आगत इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

75. After a word denoting sources of revenue, there is the affix ठक् in the sense of 'come thence'.

The word भाग means what is the share appropriated by the lord. The source of भाग is called भागस्थान ॥

This debars अण् and छ ॥ Thus शौक्क्यादिकः 'what is derived from custom house'. आकरिकम् 'revenue derived from mines'.

The plural in the sūtra prevents Svarupavidhi (I. 1. 68).

शुण्डिकादिभ्यो ण् ॥ ७६ ॥ शुण्डिकादिभ्यः-अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शुण्डिक इत्येवमादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो ण् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्त भागवत् इत्येतस्मिन्निषेधे ॥

76. The affix अण् comes in the sense of 'thence come', after the words शुण्डिक &c.

This debars इक् ॥ Thus शौण्डिकः 'excise-revenue'. कार्कणः ॥

The repetition of अण् serves the same purpose as in IV. 3. 73, वाचक-वाचनार्थम् ॥ As औदपाणः ॥

1 शुण्डिक, 2 कृकण, 3 स्यण्डित, 4 उदपाण, 5 उपल, 6 तीर्थ, 7 श्रुति, 8 कृष्ण, 9 पर्व. ॥

विद्यायोनिसंबन्धेभ्यो बुञ् ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ विद्या-योनि-संबन्धेभ्यः-बुञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विद्यायोनिकृतः संबन्धो येषां ते विद्यायोनिसंबन्धाः ॥ तद्वाचिभ्यः बुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्त भागवत् इत्येतस्मिन्निषेधे ॥

77. The affix बुञ् comes, in the sense of 'thence come,' after a word denoting a person connected through the relationship of learning or family origin.

Persons related (sambandha) through learning (such as teacher and pupil), or through blood (yoni, e. g. father and son) are called विद्यायोनिसंबन्धाः ॥ Words denoting such persons take the affix बुञ्. This debars अण् and छ. Thus उपाध्यायादगतम्-औपाध्यायकम् 'knowledge derived from a spiritual teacher.' शिष्यकम्, आचार्यकम् ॥ So also योनिसंबन्धः as मातामहकः 'wealth derived from a maternal grand-father.' पितामहकः, मातुलकः ॥

श्रुतश्रुञ् ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्रुतः-उञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विद्यायोनिसंबन्धेभ्य इत्येव । ऋकारान्तेभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो विद्यायोनिसंबन्धवाचिभ्यश्च प्रत्ययो भवति तत्त भागवत् इत्येतस्मिन्निषेधे ॥

78. The affix उञ् comes in the sense of 'come thence,' after a word ending in short ऋ, and denoting a person related through learning or blood.

This debars इम् ॥ Thus होतुरागतम्-होतृकम् 'derived from Hotri' होतृकम् ॥ So also of 'blood,' as :—भ्रातृकम्, स्वातृकम्, मातृकम् ॥

The इ in इम् is for the sake of facility of pronunciation, there being no such word ending in long ऋ ॥

When the words do not denote relationship through learning or blood, this affix is not employed. As, सावित्रम् ॥

पितुर्यच्च ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पितुः-यत्-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पितृशब्दाद् यत् प्रत्ययो भवति चकारादुच्यते तत आगत इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

79. The affix यत् as well as उच्य comes, in the sense of 'come thence,' after the word 'pitri.'

Thus पितुरागतं = पैतृकं or पित्र्यम् (VII. 4. 27. and VI. 4. 148) 'paternal—i.e. wealth inherited from father.'

गोत्रादङ्गवत् ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ गोत्रात्-अङ्गवत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोत्रप्रत्ययान्ताद्यातिपरिकारङ्गव्यत्ययविधिर्भवति तत आगत इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

80. After a word ending with a patronymic affix, the rule of affix in the sense of 'thence come,' is like that relating to the affix denoting 'its mark.'

The word गोत्र in the sūtra does not mean the technical Gotra of Grammar, but a descendant-denoting affix in general. The affixes denoting अङ्ग are taught in IV. 3. 126 and 127. The affix वुम् of IV. 3. 126 which comes after Gotra words, in the sense of 'this is his,' is referred to in this sūtra, not merely the affix अम् of IV. 3. 127, denoting, 'this is his mark.'

Thus औपगवानामङ्गः = औपगवकः 'the mark belonging to the descendants of Upagu.' So also कापटवकः, नाडायनकः, चारायणकः ॥ The same words will also denote 'come there from' as औपगवोऽयं आगतम् = औपगवकम्, कापटवकम्, नाडायनकम्, चारायणकम् (formed by वुम् IV. 3. 126).

Similarly वैदः, गार्गः, दाक्षः formed by अम् of IV. 3. 127 mean not only 'the mark belonging to the Vaidas, the Gārgyas, the Dākshis,' but also that which comes from the Vaidas &c. The word वत् has the force of 'complete similarity,' as in कालेभ्यो भववत् (IV. 2. 34), चरणेभ्यो धमवत् (IV. 2. 46).

हेतुमनुष्येभ्योऽन्यतरस्यां रूप्यः ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ हेतु-मनुष्येभ्यः, अन्यतरस्या-म्-रूप्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हेतुभ्यो मनुष्येभ्यश्चान्यतरस्यां रूप्यः प्रत्ययो भवति तत आगत इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

81. The affix रूप्य denotes that which from something has originated, when it is added to a word denoting 'cause,' or to the name of a man viewed as a cause.

The word मनुष्य is used meaning 'men as causes.' हेतु means cause or instrument. Thus समाशङ्गतं = समरूप्यम् or समीयम् by छ of IV. 2. 138 meaning 'what proceeds from a like cause.' So also विषमरूप्यम् or विषमीयम् ॥ So of men

also देवदत्तकप्यम् or देवदत्तम् (IV. 1. 83) 'what originates with देवदत्तः', यज्ञदत्तकप्यम् or यज्ञदत्तम् ॥

The word हेतुमनुष्येभ्यः is in the plural in the sūtra, indicating that svarupavidhi (I. 1. 68) does not apply here.

In denoting हेतु, there is employed the Instrumental case as taught in II. 3. 23: and according to the jñāpaka in the present sūtra, the Ablative case may also be employed in denoting a हेतु, ॥ Or the use of the ablative case in the sense of हेतु, may be explained by II. 3. 25.

मयद् च ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ मयद्-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हेतुभ्यो मनुष्येभ्यश्च मयद् प्रत्ययो भवति तत आगत इत्येतस्मिन्निषये ॥

82. After a word denoting a cause or a man viewed as a cause, there is the affix 'mayat' in the sense of 'come thence'.

Thus सममयद्, विषममयद्, देवदत्तमयद्, यज्ञदत्तमयद् ॥

The द् of मयद् indicates that the feminine of these words are formed by ङीप् (IV. 1. 15), as, सममयी ॥ The separation of this sūtra from the last is for the sake of preventing the application of the rule of mutual correspondence (I. 3. 10) which would have been the case had the rule stood as हेतुमनुष्येभ्योऽन्यतरत्वां कप्यमयदो ॥

प्रभवति ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रभवति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत इत्येव । पञ्चमीसमर्थान् व्यापृणातिपरिकल्प्यभवतीत्येतस्मिन्निषये अथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

83. After a Nominal-stem which is in the 5th. case in construction, an affix (one of those already taught) comes in the sense of 'what appears for the first time'.

The word ततः is understood in the sūtra. The word प्रभवति means what manifests itself, or appears for the first time. Thus हिमवतः प्रभवति = हेमवती "The Haimavati", a name of the Ganges, meaning 'which manifests itself for the first time or appears in the Snowy Range, its source being unknown'. So also दारदी "The Dārādī" i. e. the Indus appearing for the first time in Dardistan. The word प्रभवति has not the sense of उत्पत्ति, because that is included in तच्च जातः; it therefore means प्रकाशते, प्रथमतः उपलभ्यते, the source or origin being unknown.

विदूराशब्ज्यः ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ विदूरात्-ज्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विदूराशब्ज्यः ज्यः प्रत्ययो भवति ततः प्रभवतीत्येतस्मिन्निषये ॥

Karika

बालवायो विदूरं च प्रकृत्यन्तरमेव वा ।

न वै तत्रेति चेद्भूयाज्जिस्वीवदुपाचरेत् ॥

84. The affix **य** comes, in the sense of 'what manifests itself there', after the words 'vidûra'.

This debars **अण्** ॥ Thus **विदूरात् प्रभवति** = **वैदूर्यः** 'a kind of gem found at Vidûra'. The gem as a matter of fact is not found at Vidûra, but in a mountain called **वालवाय** ॥ Vidûra is the city where the rough stone is worked upon. In other words, it may be said that the affix is really added to **वालवाय**, when the latter word is replaced by **विदूर**; such substitute being only shown in the sûtra, the appropriate sthâni (vâlavâya) being left to inference. Or the word Vidûra may denote both the city as well as a mountain. If it be said that there is no mountain known as Vidûra, then we say that the Grammarians call Vâlavâya by the name of Vidûra, as the merchants call Benares by the name of Jitvarl.

तद्गच्छति पथिदूतयोः ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तद्-गच्छति-पथि-दूतयोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदिति द्वितीयासमर्थाद्गच्छतीत्येतस्मिन्विषये यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति योऽसौ गच्छति पन्थात् चेत् स भवति दूतो वा ॥

85. An affix (IV. 1. 83 &c) comes after a word, being in the 2nd case in construction, in the sense of 'what goes thereto', provided that, that which goes, is a road or a messenger.

Thus **सुगमगच्छति** = **सौघः** "a road or a messenger that goes to Srughna." So also **मायुर** ॥ The road may either lead to Srughna, or being in Srughna, be used for going.

Why do we say **पथिदूतयोः** "meaning a road or a messenger". Observe **सुगं गच्छति सार्यः** 'he goes to Srughna for his own sake'.

अभिनिष्क्रामति द्वारम् ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अभि-निष्क्रामति-द्वारम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वितीयासमर्थादभिनिष्क्रामतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति यत् तदभिनिष्क्रामति द्वारं चेद् भवति ॥

86. An affix comes, after a word in the 2nd case in construction, in the sense of 'a door which looks towards that'.

Thus **सौघः** 'a gate which looks towards Srughna',—as a gate of Kânyakubja. So also **मायुरम्**, **राष्ट्रियम्** ॥

Objection. The sûtra would have stood better as **अभिनिष्क्रमणं द्वारं**, for by using **अभिनिष्क्रामति**, you make the word **द्वारं** as if it was a being endowed with sense.

Ans. This objection may be answered by saying that the gate is the well-known instrument (**करण**) to the action of **अभिनिष्क्रमणं**; and an instrument may be used as an agent to a verb: as **साधसिञ्छति** 'the sword cuts nicely.'

Why do we say द्वारम् "when it is a gate"? Observe शुभ्रमग्निनिष्क्रमति
पुरुषः 'a person faces towards Srugghna'.

अधिकृत्य कृते ग्रन्थे ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अधिकृत्य-कृते-ग्रन्थे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदिति द्वितीयासमर्थ्याधिकृत्य कृतइत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे वयाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति वक्तव्यं ग्रन्थे-
त्स भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ मुवाख्यायिकार्यत्वं प्रत्ययस्य बहुलम् ॥

87. An affix comes after a word in the 2nd case in construction, in the sense of 'made in relation to any subject,' when the thing made is a 'book.'

The word अधिकृत्य means 'aiming at' 'alluding to, referring to.' Thus शुभ्रमग्निनिष्क्रमति कृतोऽग्रन्थः—सौभद्रः 'Saubhadra or a book relating to the history of Subhadra.' So also गौरिनिबन्धः, यावत्तः, किरातासुनीयम् ॥

Why do we say ग्रन्थे 'when meaning a book'? Observe, शुभ्रमग्निनिष्क्रमति कृतः
प्रासादः 'a palace built in memory of Subhadra'; where there is no affix.

Vart:—The affix is elided diversely when the book is a story. Thus वासवदत्तामधि कृत्य कृता ऽऽ वयायिका—वासवदत्ता "Vasavadattā, a story relating to Vāsavadattā." सुमनोहरा, उर्वशी ॥ Sometimes the elision does not take place, as भैरवी ॥

शिशुकन्दयमसमद्वन्द्वेन्द्रजननादिभ्यश्छः ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ शिशु-कन्द-यमस-
म-द्वन्द्व-इन्द्र-जननादिभ्यः-छः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शिशुकन्दादिभ्यो द्वितीयासमर्थे-श्छः प्रत्ययो भवति अधिकृत्य कृते ग्रन्थे ॥ अणोपवादः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ इन्द्रे देवासुपादिभ्यः प्रतिषेधः ॥

88. The affix छ comes in the sense of 'a book made relating to a subject', after the following words in the 2nd case in construction, viz 'sisukranda,' 'yamasabha,' the Dvandva-compounds, and the words 'indra-janana' &c.

The word छ (IV. 3. 85) and अधिकृत्य कृते ग्रन्थे should be read into the sūtra. This debars अण् ॥ Thus शिशुकन्दीयः 'a book treating of the crying of infants.' यमसभः 'a book relating to the court of Yama'. A Dvandva-Compound: as, अग्निकाश्यपीयः, इत्येकपीतीयः, सार्धार्थसंबन्धीयम् प्रकरणे, वाक्यपरीयम् ॥

There is no list of इन्द्रजननादि words. They are ākritigaṇa, and must be determined by usage. Thus इन्द्रजननीयम्, प्रद्युम्नागमनयिम् &c.

Vart:—Prohibition should be stated in the case of the Dvanda-Compounds देवासुर &c. As देवासुरम् 'the book of the wars of the Gods and Demons.' राक्षसुरम् गोणमुखम् ॥

The words सिधुक्त्वं and वनसम् might have been included in the inchoate class इन्द्रजननादि ॥ The separate enumeration of these words in the sūtra, is merely for the sake of amplification.

सोऽस्य निवासः ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ सः-अस्य-निवासः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स इति प्रथमासमर्थादस्येति षष्ठपर्यं यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति यत्प्रथमासमर्थे निवासश्चेत्त्वमवति ॥

89. After a word in the 1st case in construction, an affix comes in the sense of 'this is his dwelling place'

The word स shows that the word to which the affix is to be added is in the nominative case. अस्य 'his' shows that the meaning of the affix is that of a genitive case. निवासः, shows that the first word in construction must signify a dwelling place. निवास means "a country i. e. where a person lives (nivasanti asmin)".

सुप्तो निवासोऽस्य - सौप्तः 'a present dweller of Srughna', मायुरः, राष्ट्रियः &c.

अभिजनश्च ॥ ९० ॥ पदानि ॥ अभिजनः-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सोऽस्येत्येव । स इति प्रथमासमर्थादस्येति षष्ठपर्यं यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति यत्प्रथमासमर्थमभिजनश्चेत्त्वमवति ॥

90. After a word in the 1st case in construction, an affix comes in the sense of 'this is his mother-land'.

The difference between निवासः and अभिजनः is this. Where a person lives himself for the present, that is his निवास or dwelling-place. Where his ancestors (अभिजनः) have lived, that is his अभिजन 'native country, home or ancestral abode'. Thus सौप्तः 'a person whose ancestral home is in Srughna'. मायुरः, राष्ट्रियः ॥ The separation of this sūtra from the last is for the sake of the subsequent sūtra, in which the anuvṛtti of 'abhijana' only runs.

आयुधजीविभ्यश्छः पर्वते ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ आयुधजीविभ्यः-छः-पर्वते ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सोऽस्याभिजन इति वर्तते । आयुधजीविभ्य इति तार्थ्ये चतुर्थी, पर्वत इति प्रकृतिविशेषणम् । पर्वतवाचिनः प्रथमासमर्थादभिजनारस्येति षष्ठपर्यं छः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

91. The affix छ comes after a word denoting mountain, in the sense of 'this is his mother-land', when it is a person who lives by arms.

The word आयुधजीवी means a person who earns his livelihood by arms. The phrase सोऽस्याभिजनः is to be read into the sūtra. Thus हृद्गोलः पर्वतोऽभिजन एषामायुधजीविनां - हृद्गोलीयाः 'the mercenary soldiers whose ancestral abode is the Hridgola mountain'. So also अन्धकवर्सीयाः, रोहितगिरीयाः ॥

Why do we say आयुधजीविभ्यः ? Observe माक्षोदा ब्राह्मणाः "the Brahmanas whose native place is Rikshoda mountains". Why do we say 'mountains' ? Observe. सांकाश्यका आयुधजीविनः ॥

शाण्डिकादिभ्यो ञ्यः ॥ ९२ ॥ शाण्डिकादिभ्यः, ञ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शाण्डिक इत्येवमादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो ञ्यः प्रत्ययो भवति सोऽस्याभिजन इत्येतस्मिन्निषये । अणोरपवादः ॥

92. The affix ञ्य comes in the sense of 'this is his native-land', after the words शाण्डिक &c.

This debars अच् &c. Thus शाण्डिकः, सार्वसेनः &c.

1 शाण्डिक, 2 सार्वसेन 3 सर्वकेष, 4 एक, 5 एत, (सद), 6 एक, 7 सत्स, 8 बोध.

सिन्धुतक्षशिलादिभ्यो ञ्णञौ ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सिन्धु-तक्षशिलादिभ्यः, अच्-अञौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आदिशब्दः प्रत्येकनभिसंज्ञयते । सिन्धादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यस्तक्षशिलादिभ्यश्च यथासंख्यनञौ प्रत्ययो भवति सोऽस्याभिजन इत्येतस्मिन्निषये ॥

93. The affixes ञ्ण and अञ come respectively, after the words 'Sindhu' &c and 'Takshasila' &c in the sense of 'this is his native-land'.

Thus सेन्धवः, बार्हवः ॥

Many of the words occurring in Sindhu-class, are found in Kachchh-Adi class (IV. 2. 133) also. Those words would have taken अच् by sūtra IV. 2. 133. The present sūtra prevents the affixing of बुष् (IV. 2. 134) to those words under circumstances mentioned in sūtra IV. 2. 134, when the further significance of अभिजनः is added to them.

So also ताक्षशिलः, वात्सोदरः &c.

1 सिन्धु, 2 वर्ण, 3 मधुमत्, 4 कम्बोज, 5 सार्व, 6 कश्मीर, 7 गन्धार, 8 किष्किन्धा, 9 डरसा (डरस), 10 सरद् (सर), 11 गान्धका (गन्धिका), 12 कुलून, 13 विरसा. ॥

1 तक्षशिला, 2 वात्सोदरः, 3 कैमेरुर (कोमेरुर), 4 ग्रामणी, 5 उगल, 6 क्रोष्टुकर्ण (कर्णकोष्ठ), 7 सिंहकर्ण (सिंहकोष्ठ), 8 संकुचित, 9 किरर, 10 काण्डधार (काण्डवारण), 11 पर्यत, 12 अवसान, 13 बर्बर, 14 कंस, 15 सरालक.

तूदीशालातुरवर्मतीकूचवाराड्ढक्छण्डञ्यकः ॥ ९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ तूदी-शालातुर-वर्मती-कूचवारात्, ढक्-छण्-ढञ्-यकः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तूयादिभ्यश्चतुर्थ्यः शब्देभ्यो यथासंख्यं चत्वार एव ढक् छण् ढञ् यक् इत्येते प्रत्यया भवन्ति सोऽस्याभिजन इत्येतस्मिन्निषये । अणोपवादः ॥

94. After the words तूदी, शालातुर, वर्मती, and कूचवार, come respectively the affixes ढक्, छण्, ढञ्, and यक् in the sense of 'this is his native land'.

This debars अच् ॥ Thus तूदेयः, शालातुरीयः, वर्मतेयः and कूचवार्हः ॥

भक्तिः ॥ ९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ भक्तिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समर्थविभक्तिः प्रत्ययार्थानुवर्तते । अभिजन इति निवृत्तम् । स इति प्रथमासमर्थ इत्येति वदन्त्ये यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति, यत्प्रथमासमर्थं भक्तिश्चेत्तद्वति ॥

95. An affix (IV. 1. 83) comes after a word in the first case in construction, in the sense of 'this is his object of veneration or love'.

The word भक्ति in the sūtra means 'serving', 'worshipping' or 'loving'.

Thus बुद्धो भक्तिरस्य = सौमित्रः 'a person who is loyal to Srughna'. So also मायुरः, राष्ट्रियः &c.

The anuvṛitti of the word अभिजनः ceases. The word छः and अस्य should be read into the sūtra.

अचित्ताद्देशकालाद्ठक् ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अचित्तात्, अदेश-कालात्, ठक् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ देशकालप्यतिरिक्ताश्चित्तवाचिनः प्रातिपदिकाद्ठक्प्रत्ययो भवति सोऽस्य भक्तिरित्येतस्मिन्विषये;
अणोपवाहः ॥

96. After a word denoting a thing not having consciousness, but not being the name of a country or time, the affix ठक् is employed, in the sense of 'this is his object of devotion or love'.

This debars अण्; and छ also. Thus अपूपामक्तिरस्य = आपूपिकः 'a person who loves cakes'. शाष्कुलिकः, पायसिकः ॥

Why do we say 'not having consciousness'? Observe देवदत्तः ॥ Why do we say 'not being the name of a country'? Observe सौमित्रः ॥ Why do we say 'not denoting time'? Observe मेर्षः 'who loves Summer'.

महाराजाद्ठक् ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ महाराजात्, ठक् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ महाराजशब्दाद् ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति सोऽस्य भक्तिरित्येतस्मिन् विषये । अणोपवाहः ॥

97. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'this is his object of veneration', after the word महाराज ॥

This debars अण् ॥ As महाराजिकः 'who loves or serves the Mahārāja'. The difference between this ठक् and the ठक् of the last aphorism, is in accent only.

वासुदेवार्जुनाभ्यां बुन् ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वासुदेव-अर्जुनाभ्याम्, बुन् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ वासुदेवार्जुनशब्दाभ्यां बुन् प्रत्ययो भवति सोऽस्य भक्तिरित्येतस्मिन्विषये । छानोरपवाहः ॥

98. The affix बुन् comes in the sense of 'this is his object of veneration,' after the words 'Vāsudeva' and Arjuna.

This debars छ and अण् ॥ Thus वासुदेवकः, अर्जुनकः ॥

Q. The word वासुदेव being the name of a Kshatriya would have taken बुम् by the next sūtra, and there is no difference here between बुन् and बुम्, why then include the word वासुदेव in this sūtra?

A. The word वासुदेव here is the name of God (in which all dwell वासुदेव भस्मिन्) and not the designation of a Kshatriya.

By the general rule of compounds (II. 2. 34) a word of fewer vowels is placed first, and so Arjuna ought to have been placed first. The not doing so in this sūtra indicates (jñāpaka) the existence of this rule 'that a word denoting an object of reverence is placed first.'

गोत्रक्षत्रियाख्येभ्यो बहुलं बुम् ॥ ९९ ॥ पदानि ॥ गोत्र-क्षत्रियाख्येभ्यः-बहुलम्-बुम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोत्राख्येभ्यः क्षत्रियाख्येभ्यश्च प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो बहुलं बुम् प्रत्ययो भवति सोऽयं भक्तिरित्येतस्मिन्नि-
षेधः । भगोपवाहः ॥

99 The affix बुम् comes diversely, in the sense of 'this is his object of veneration,' after a word denoting Gotra or a Kshatriya.

This debars भञ् and छ. Thus: ग्लोचुकायनक 'who loves or serves &c Gluchukāyani.' So also भौपगवकः, कापटवकः ॥ Kshatriyas :—नाकुलकः, साहदेवकः, साम्बकः ॥

The word भाख्यां in the sūtra indicates that the words should be the names of *well-known* or *famous* Kshatriyas, and not of any body who is a Kshatriya by profession.

The word बहुल shows the non-universality of this rule. Thus पाणिनो भक्तिरित्य-पाणिनीयः, पौण्डरीकः ॥

The word गोत्र does not mean here the Grammatical Gotra, but a word formed by a patronymic affix in general.

जनपदिनां जनपदवत्सर्वं जनपदेन समानशब्दानां बहुवचने ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥

जनपदिनाम्, जनपदवत्, सर्वम्, जनपदेन, समान, शब्दानाम्, बहुवचने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जनपदिनो ये बहुवचने जनपदेन समानशब्दास्तेषां जनपदवत्सर्वं भवति प्रत्ययः प्रकृतिश्च सोऽयं भक्तिरित्येतस्मिन्निषेधे ॥

100. Of words denoting Princes (lit. who are lords of janapada) the base and affix meaning 'this is his object of veneration' are the same, in every respect, like those of a word denoting kingdom, provided that, the Prince-denoting words have, in the plural, the same form, as the kingdom-denoting words.

The words of this sūtra require a detailed analysis. जनपदिनाम् gen. plural of जनपदिन् meaning 'lord of an inhabited country' i. e. Kshatriya-Princes, बहुवचने 'in the plural', जनपदेन समान शब्दानां 'the same form as the janapada denoting word', जनपदवत् सर्वम् 'every thing is like janapada'. In other words, 'after those bases denoting Kshatriya Princes which in the plural have

the same forms as the names of the countries, the affix in the sense of veneration will be the same as will come after a janapada word.' Now the affixes denoting भक्ति as regards जनपद words are given in Sûtras IV. 2. 124 &c. and those affixes will apply here. Thus भङ्गा जनपदो भक्तिरस्य = भाङ्गकः formed by हुम् of Sûtra IV. 2. 125, meaning 'who loves the country of Aṅgās' Similarly बाङ्गकः, सौङ्गकः पोङ्गकः ॥

Similarly भङ्गाः क्षत्रियाः भक्तिरस्य = भाङ्गकः formed by the same affix हुम्, with this difference of meaning 'who loves the Kshatriyas called Aṅgās'. So बाङ्गकः, सौङ्गकः &c.

Why do we say 'of Kshatriya Princes'; (janapadinām). Observe, पंचालं ब्राह्मणा भक्तिरस्य = पांचालाः ॥ Here the general affix अण् is employed.

The word सर्व is used in the sūtra to show that not only the affixes are the same, but the bases to which the affixes are added will be the same. In the plural, the Kshatriya and the Janapada bases have the same form, but in the singular and dual, the forms of Kshatriya-bases are different. Thus मद्रस्यापत्यं = sing. मद्रः (IV. 1. 170) dual, मद्रौ pl. मद्राः The form मद्राः denotes both 'the Kings or Kshatriyas of Madrās' as well as 'the country called Madrās'. Thus मद्रौ भक्तिरस्य = मद्रकः ॥ So also in the singular and dual, मद्राः will be the base to which the affix will be added. Thus मद्रो भक्तिरस्य मद्रो वा भक्तिरस्य = मद्रकः ॥ Similarly बाड्यं (from वृजि IV. 1. 171), as, बाड्यो वा भक्तिरस्य बाड्यो वा भक्तिरस्य = वृजिकः ॥

Why do we say जनपदेन समान शब्दानाम् 'the word having the same sound as the janapada word'? Thus अनुषण्डो जनपदः, पौरवो राजा स भक्तिरस्य = पौरवीवः ॥ Here Paurava and Anushaṇḍa have not the same sound.

The word बहुवचने is used in the sūtra, to indicate, that, though the समान शब्दता or 'the similarity of word-form', occurs in the plural number only, yet this atideśa rule applies to the same words in the singular and dual also. For in the plural, the form will be same, because there the Tadrāja affix is elided; but in the singular and dual, the Tadrāja affix is not elided, and therefore, the word denoting a principality and the word denoting a prince will not have the same form; but this rule applies there also. As बाङ्गः or बाङ्गो भक्तिरस्य बाङ्गकः ॥

तेन प्रोक्तम् ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ तेन, प्रोक्तम् ॥

वृशिः ॥ तेनोति तृतीयासमर्ण्योक्तमित्यस्मिन्मर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

101. After a word in the 3rd case in construction, an affix (IV. 1. 83 &c). comes, in the sense of 'enounced by him'.

The word प्रोक्तं means प्रकर्षेणोक्तं 'preeminently spoken'. It should be distinguished from the word कृत meaning 'done or made'. For the sense of कृतं

has been already taught in the sūtra कृते ग्रन्थे (IV. 3. 16). Thus अन्वेन कृता मायुरेव प्रोक्ता = मायुरी वृत्तिः ॥ पाणिनीयश्च 'the system of grammar enounced by Papini' भाषिद्यतश्च, कायकृतस्तन् ॥

Works like Chhandas which were made (कृते) by nobody, but which were promulgated (प्रोक्ते) from time of time by inspired commentators, may be quoted as examples of the application of this sūtra. Or it may apply to the case of a book whose *author* is another, but whose promulgator or expounder is another. In short, speaking roughly, प्रोक्त is a 'revelation', and कृतः is a 'composition', one a revealer or prophet, the other an author.

According to some, this sūtra is almost a superfluity. They argue thus: The word प्रोक्त is formed by adding प्र to वच् and means 'to lecture' 'to teach', and also the 'means of such teaching &c'. In the first sense of 'lecturing or teaching', the affix is not found. For in every village there are persons who teach or lecture upon Kāṭha, Kalāpa &c. For example वृचर्मन् may be such a lecturer, but we do not say वृचर्मणा प्रोक्ते काठकं - वृचर्मन् ॥ Moreover, where we find this affix employed, it is with regard to Books, for which the rule कृते ग्रन्थे is sufficient. If it be said that it should be taught for the Chhandas: that is also unnecessary, as the Vedas are not कृत but eternal, the agent only remembers them. If it be said, it refers to the sense of the Vedas, the same objection applies as to the first. But the letter of the Veda is not eternal, it is the sense that is eternal. Therefore the Rishis who revealed, for the first time, at the beginning of a Kalpa, the sense of the Veda, in appropriate language will be called its promulgators, and the works so revealed will be named after such Rishis, as काठकम्, कालापकम् and भारकम् ॥ This sūtra, however, is confined to those cases where the author of the book is one person and its promulgator is another: as मायुरी वृत्तिः ॥

तिसिरिवरतन्तुखण्डिकोखाच्छन् ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ तिसिरि-वरतन्तु-खण्डिक-उखात्-छन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिसिर्यादिभ्यः एम्बेभ्यश्छन् प्रत्ययो भवति तेन प्रोक्तमित्येतस्मिन्वचने । अणोपवाहः ॥ वार्तिकम् ॥ यौनकादिभ्यश्छन्सीत्यन्ताद्यानुवृत्तेऽन्वोपिकादिहितानां च तद्विषयेष्वप्येव ॥

102. The affix छन् comes in the sense of 'enounced by him', after the words 'tittiri', 'varatantu', 'khandika', and 'ukha'.

Thus तिसिरीयाः 'those who learn (IV. 2. 64) the Veda enounced by Tittiri'. वारतन्तुवीयाः, खण्डिकीयाः, औखीयाः ॥

According to Kāśikā this is confined to the Chhandas only. Therefore it will not apply to secular śloka, as तिसिरिणा प्रोक्तं श्लोकः ॥ The word Chhandas is drawn from sūtra IV. 3. 106. and तद्विषयत्वा from IV 2 66.

काश्यपकौशिकाभ्यामृषिभ्यां णिनि ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ काश्यप-कौशिकाभ्याम्,
ऋषिभ्याम्, णिनिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ काश्यपकौशिकशब्दाभ्यामृषिवाचिभ्यां णिनिः प्रत्ययो भवति तेन प्रोक्तमित्येतस्मिन्विषये । छ-
स्थापवाहः ॥

103. The affix णिनि comes in the sense of 'enounced by him', after the words 'Kâśyapa' and 'Kausika' when denoting Vedic Seers.

This debars छ. The ण् of णिनि is for the sake of Vṛiddhi (useful in the subsequent sūtra). This is confined, like the last, to the Vedic works. Thus काश्यपिनः 'those who study (IV. 2. 64) the Kalpa enounced by Kâśyapa', कौशिकिनः ॥ Why do we say "Vedic Sages"? Observe इदानीन्तनेन गोत्रकाश्यपेन प्रोक्तं—काश्यपीयम् "a work enounced by a modern Kâśyapa,—one belonging to the Gotra Kâśyapa : not a Rishi'.

कलापिवैशम्पायनान्तं वासिभ्यश्च ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ कलापि-वैशम्पायन-अ-
न्तिवासिभ्यः, च (णिनि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कलाप्यन्तेवासिनां वैशम्पायनान्ते वासिनां च ये वाचकाः शब्दास्तेभ्यो णिनिः प्रत्ययो भवति ते-
न प्रोक्तमित्येतस्मिन्विषये । अणोपवाहः ॥

Kārika

हरिद्रेषां प्रथमस्तत्तच्छगलितुम्बुरु ।

उलपेन चतुर्थेन कालापकमिहोच्यते ॥

आलम्बिभरकः प्राचां पलङ्गकमलावली ।

कृत्वाभारुणिताण्डवाश्च मङ्गलीयाश्चोऽपरे ॥

इयामायन उदीच्येषु उक्तः कठकलापिनोः ।

104. After words denoting the pupils of 'Kalāpi', and 'Vaisampāyana,' the affix णिनि is employed in the sense of 'enounced by him.'

This debars अण् and छ ॥ There are four words which express pupils of Kalāpā : as, हरिद्रु, छगली, तुम्बुरु, उलपः ॥ There are nine words expressing pupils of Vaisampāyana : as, आलम्बि, पलङ्ग, कमल, कृत्वा, भारुणि, ताण्डव, इयामायन, कठ, कलापी ॥

Thus हरिद्रुविजः 'those who study (IV. 2. 64) the works enounced by Haridru.' तम्बुरुविजः, आलपिनः and छगली takes ḍhinuk IV. 3. 109 ॥ आलम्बिनः, पालङ्गिनः, भारुणिनः, आर्चामिनः, कामलिनः, ताण्डिनः, इयामायनिनः ॥ The affix is elided after कठ (IV. 3. 107), and is replaced by अण् (IV. 3. 108) after कलापी ॥

The pupils must be direct ones, and not pupil of pupils. For had that been the meaning, Kalāpi being a pupil of Vaisampāyana, the words 'pupils of Vaisampāyana' would have included the 'pupils of Kalāpi.' But that is not so, the word Kalāpi being separately mentioned in the sūtra. So

also Kāṭha is a pupil of Vaiśampāyana, and Khāḍāyana is a pupil of Kāṭha and had the sūtra applied to pupil's pupil also, then the affix णिनि would have applied to खाडावन also. But that is not the case, Khāḍāyana being mentioned in Śaunakādi class. (IV. 3. 106).

The word चरकः means वैद्यम्पावनः, hence चरकाः means pupils of वैद्यम्पावनः ॥
पुराणप्रोक्तेषु ब्राह्मणकल्पेषु ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुराण-प्रोक्तेषु-ब्राह्मण-कल्पेषु
(णिनिः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ प्रत्ययार्थविशेषणमेतत् । सूत्रियासमर्थाद्योक्ते णिनिः प्रत्ययो भवति यद्योक्तं पुराणप्रोक्तब्राह्मण-
कल्पास्ते भवन्ति ॥

105. The affix णिनि comes in the sense of 'enounced by him,' after a word in the 3rd case in construction, when it denotes a Brāhmaṇa or a Kalpa-work enounced by ancient sages.

This sūtra further gives the sense of the affix. पुराण means 'Ancient Sages' equivalent to पुरातन. Of Brāhmaṇa literature, the examples are, शाव्यावनिनः, एतदायनः ॥ Kalpa work : as पैद्गीकल्पः, आरुणपराजी ॥

Why do we say पुराणप्रोक्तेषु 'announced by ancient sages'? Observe याज्ञवल्कानि ब्राह्मणानि, आरुणयः कल्पः ॥ (VI. 4. 151) Yajñavalkya &c being sages of modern times. The तद् विषय affix (IV. 2. 66) will not also apply to these, because the word ब्राह्मण in IV. 2. 66 is restricted to पुराणप्रोक्त of the present sūtra.

शौनकादिभ्यश्छन्दसि ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ शौनकादिभ्यः-छन्दसि-(णिनिः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ शौनक इत्येवमादिभ्यो णिनिः प्रत्ययो भवति तेन प्रोक्तमित्येतस्मिन्विषये छन्दस्यभिधेये । छाण्यो-
पवादः ॥

106. The affix णिनि comes in the sense of 'enounced by him', after the words शौनक &c, in denoting Chhandas.

This debars छ and अण् ॥ Thus शौनकेन प्रोक्तमधीयते = शौनकिनः 'who study (IV. 2. 64) the Chhandas enounced by Śaunaka.' वाजसनेयिनः &c.

Why do we say 'in denoting Chhandas'? Observe शौनकीया सिखा 'the orthography of Śaunaka.'

The word कठशाठ occurs in this list. This must always be taken as a compound for affixing this affix. After the single word कठ the affix is elided (IV. 3. 107). Thus कठशाठार्थां प्रोक्तमधीयते = काठशाठिनः ॥

1 शौनक, 2 वाजसनेय, 3 शार्ङ्गारव, 4 शापेय (सांपेय), 5 शाप्येय (शाखेय), 6 खाडावन, 7 स्कन्म (स्कन्म), 8 स्कन्ध, 9 देवदर्शन, 10 रज्जुभार, 11 रज्जुकण्ड, 12 कठशाठ, 13 कषाव (कषाव) 14 तल*, 15 इण्ड*, 16 पुरुषांसक (पुरुषासक), 17 अश्वपेज (अश्वपेय), 18 साङ्गरव, 19 स्कन्ध, 20 देवदत्तशाठ, 21 तलवकार.

पाराशर्यशिलालिभ्यां भिक्षुनदसूत्रयोः ॥ ११० ॥ पदानि ॥ पाराशर्य-शिलालि-
भ्याम्-भिक्षु-नद-सूत्रयोः (णिनि) ॥

श्रुतिः ॥ णिनिदिशानुवर्तते, न दिनुक् । पाराशर्यशिलालिभ्यां णिनिः प्रत्ययो भवति तेन प्रोक्तमित्येतस्मिन्-
निरूपणे ॥

110. The affix णिनि comes in the sense of 'enounced by him', after the words Pârâsarya and Silalin, the works enounced being Bhikshu-Sûtra and Nata-Sûtra respectively.

The affix णिनि is to be read into the sûtra and not दिनुक् ॥ The भिक्षुसूत्र-
and नदसूत्र are works treating of the duties of भिक्षु 'religious mendicants' and
नरः 'jugglers, dancers'.

Thus पाराशर्य + णिनि = पाराशर + णिनि (VI. 4. 152) = पाराशरिन्, 'the treatise
of Pârâsarya on the duties of Bhikshus'. Similarly शैलालिन् ॥ These words,
of course, have the additional sense of 'he who studies the works so enounced
by Pârâsarya and Sailâlin'. See IV. 2. 66. As पाराशरिणो भिक्षवः, शैलालिनो नराः ॥
According to some, it always expresses this relation (तद्विषयता IV. 2. 66) and
never a प्रोक्त alone. These are treated metaphorically as Chhandas.

Why do we say 'denoting Bhikshu and Nata Sûtras'? Observe
पाराशर्य, शैलालम् ॥

कर्मन्दकुशाश्वादिनिः ॥ १११ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मन्द-कुशाश्वाद्-इनिः ॥
श्रुतिः ॥ भिक्षुनदसूत्रयोरित्येव । कर्मन्दकुशाश्वाद्वादिनिः प्रत्ययो भवति । अणोपवादः ॥

111. The affix इनि comes, in the sense of 'enounced by him', the thing enounced being Bhikshu Sûtra and Nata-Sûtra, after the words 'Karmanda' and 'Kriśâśva'.

Thus कर्मन्दिनो भिक्षवः, 'the mendicants who study the Bhikshu-sûtra
of Karmandin'. कुशाश्विनो नराः 'the actors who study the Nata Sûtra of Kriśâśvin.'
Otherwise कर्मन्दकम् and काशादकम् ॥ See IV. 2. 66.

तेनैकदिक् ॥ ११२ ॥ पदानि ॥ तेन-एकदिक् ॥
श्रुतिः ॥ तेनेति तृतीयासमर्थादेकदिगित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे अयाचिहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

112. An affix (IV. 1. 83 &c) comes after a word in the third case in construction, in the sense of 'in the same direction with that.'

The word एक दिक् means तुल्य दिक् i.e. a common direction. Thus
सुषाम्ना एकदिक् = सुषामनी विद्युत् "a lightening, literally that which is in the same
direction as the hill called the Sudâman." So हेमवती, वैककुषी, पेलुपत्नी ॥

The repetition of तेन, though it could have been supplied by anuvṛtiti
from IV. 3. 101, is for the sake of indicating that the anuvṛtiti of the छन्दस्

which regulated all the preceding ten sūtras, does not extend to this aphorism, and therefore the तद्विषयता of IV. 2. 66 which was applied in those sūtras does not apply here.

तसिञ्च ॥ ११३ ॥ पदानि ॥ तसिः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तसिञ्च प्रत्ययो भवति तेनैकदिगित्येतस्मिन्विषये । पूर्वेण घादिषु भजादिषु च प्राप्तेऽप्यनपरः प्रत्ययो विधीयते ॥

113. The affix तसि comes in the sense of 'in the same direction with that.'

This ordains another affix in addition to the previously taught अच् &c च &c. The words formed by this affix are Indeclinables (I. 1. 37). Thus हिमवतः 'in the same direction as Himavat.' पीतमूलतः, सुदामतः ॥

उरसो यच्च ॥ ११४ ॥ पदानि ॥ उरसो-यत्-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उरः शब्दाद्यत् प्रत्ययो भवति चकाराणसिञ्च, तेनैकदिगित्येतस्मिन् विषये ॥

114. The affix यत् as well as the affix तसि comes in the sense of 'in the same direction with that,' after the word उरस् ।

Thus उरसा एकदिग् = उरस्य or उरस्तः ॥ The तसि is read into the sūtra by force of the word च ॥

उपज्ञाते ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपज्ञाते ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेत्येव । तृतीयासमर्थानुपज्ञातइत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

115. After a word in 3rd case in construction, an affix is employed in the sense of 'discovered by him'.

Knowledge acquired by oneself without being taught is called उपज्ञातं, i. e. an intuition or self taught knowledge. Thus पाणिनिनोपज्ञातं = पाणिनीयम् अकालकं व्याकरणं 'the law of Grammar discovered by Pāṇini'. So also काशकृत्स्नम् गुरुलाघवम्, आपिशालम् दुष्करणम् ॥ Compare II. 4. 21. The Pāṇini's Grammar is called अकालकं as it does not define काल or tenses; गुरुलाघव is the name of the sciences of wealth (यज्ञोपायाणां गौरवं लाघवं चिन्त्यते) ॥ The word Duskarāṇa is the name of a Grammar, so-called because of the technical term दुष् occurring in it. Some say it means कामशास्त्रः ॥

कृते ग्रन्थे ॥ ११६ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृते-ग्रन्थे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेत्येव तृतीयासमर्थानुपज्ञातइत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति, यत्कृतं ग्रन्थमेतत् भवति ॥

116. An affix comes after a word in the 3rd case in construction, in the sense of 'made', the thing made being 'a book',

Thus वररुचिना कृताः = वाररुचाः श्लोकाः 'the verses composed by Vararuchi'. So also हेकुरातो ग्रन्थः, मेकुरातो ग्रन्थः, बालूकः ॥

Why do we say 'a book'? Observe तक्षकृतः प्रासादः 'the palace made by Taksha'.

That which one originates is called कृतः and is therefore an 'art', while knowledge of laws &c. that already exist, but are discovered for the first time by some one, is called उपज्ञातं ॥

संज्ञायाम् ॥ ११७ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तृतीयासमर्थाकृतइत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे वयादिहित प्रत्ययो भवति समुदायेन चेतुसंज्ञाज्ञावदे ॥

117. An affix comes after a word in the 3rd case in construction, in the sense of 'made by him', when the whole word is a Name.

Thus नक्षिकाभिः कृतम् = माक्षिकम्, कार्मुकम्, सारपम्, पौनिकम् ॥ All these are names of 'honey', literally 'made by a bee', नक्षिका, सरपा and पुनिका meaning 'a bee'. नक्षिका + भञ् = नक्षिक (VI. 4. 148). The anuvṛtti of "ग्रन्थ" does not, of course, apply here.

कुलालादिभ्यो बुञ् ॥ ११८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुला-लादिभ्यः, बुञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेन कृते संज्ञायामिति चेतस्सर्वमनुवर्तते । कुलालादिभ्यो बुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति तेन कृतमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे संज्ञायां गम्यमानायाम् ॥

118. The affix बुञ् comes in the sense of 'made by him', after the words Kulâla &c. the whole word so formed being a Name.

Thus कौलालकम् 'a porcelain' lit. 'made by a potter'. So also वादकमम् ॥

1 कुलाल, 2 बरुड, 3 चण्डाल, 4 निषाद, 5 कर्मार, 6 सेना, 7 तिरिभ्र (तिरिन्ध्र), 8 सेरिन्ध्र (सेन्ध्रिय), 9 देवराज, 10 परिषद् (पर्यद्), 11 बधू, 12 मधु*, 13 रुद्र, 14 रुद्र, 15 मननुद्, 16 ब्रह्मन्, 17 कुम्भकार, 18 श्वपाक, 19 ध्रुव. ॥

क्षुद्राभ्रमरवटरपादपादञ् ॥ ११९ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षुद्रा-भ्रमर-वटर-पादपात्, अञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेन कृते संज्ञायामिति सर्वमनुवर्तते । क्षुद्रादिभ्यो ऽञ् प्रत्ययो भवति तेन कृतइत्येतस्मिन्विषये संज्ञायां गम्यमानायाम् । भ्रजोपवाहः ॥

119. The affix अञ् comes after the words 'kshudrâ', 'bhramara', 'vâlara', and 'pâdapa' in the sense of 'made by him', the whole word being a Name.

This debars अञ्, there being difference in accent between अञ् and अम् ॥ Thus क्षुद्राभिः कृतम् = क्षौद्रम् 'honey' lit 'made' by a small bee'. So also भ्रमरम्, वटरम् and पादपम् ॥

तस्येदम् ॥ १२१ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्य-इदम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्येति षष्ठीसमर्थादित्येतस्मिन् षष्ठे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवत्यापादकः पञ्च महोत्सर्गाः ।
आपदकश्च प्रत्ययः यथाविहितं विधीयन्ते ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ बहेस्तुणिद् च ॥ वा० अग्नीधः शरणे रण् म च ॥ वा० ॥ समिधानाधानेष्वयम् ॥

120. After a word in the 6th case in construction, an affix (IV. 1. 13 &c) comes, in the sense of 'this is his'.

The five universals अण् &c. (IV, 1. 83) and the affixes च &c. (IV. 2. 93) come in this sense. Thus उपगोतिरिन्-भौपगवन्, 'of Upagu'. कापदवन्, राष्ट्रियन्, अवारपाताण् ॥ The affixes, however, do not come, when the word governed by the possessive case, is अनन्तर &c. Thus देवदत्तस्यानन्तरम् ॥ In short the thing possessed must be property, village, kingdom or men.

Vart.—The verb बह takes वृ (तृण् and तृष्) and अण् preceded by an इद् As, संबोद्धः स्वं-सांबहिबन् ॥

Vart.—The affix रम् comes after अग्नीधः, in the sense of 'house', and the base gets the designation of न ॥ As अग्नीध्रम् ॥ The word अग्नीध being treated as a Bha and not as a Pada, the ध is not changed to इ (VIII. 2. 39).

Vart.—The affix 'shenyan' comes after सामधा, in the sense of placing. Thus सामिधेन्यो मन्त्रः 'the verses (recited while) placing the fuel on fire', सामिधेनी (IV. 1. 41) ऋक् ॥

रथाद्यत् ॥ १२१ ॥ पदानि ॥ रथात्-यत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रथशब्दाद्यत् प्रत्ययो भवति तस्येदमित्येतस्मिन्विषये । अजोपवाहः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ रथसीताहलेभ्यो यद्विधापति तदन्तविधिरुपसंख्ययाये ॥

121. The affix यत् comes after रथ, in the sense of 'this is his.'

This debars अण् ॥ Thus रथस्येद्=रथ्यन् 'belonging to the chariot—i. e. wheel or the axle.' The word रथ्य is confined to describe the parts of chariot. This rule applies also to compounds ending with रथ, as, परमरथ्यम्, उत्तरमरथ्यम् because of the Vartika रथसीताहलेभ्यो यद्विधौ, after रथ, सीता and हल in applying the affix बन् there is tadanta-vidhi.

पत्रपूर्वादञ् ॥ १२२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पत्रपूर्वात्-अञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पत्रपूर्वाद्व्यशब्दादञ् प्रत्ययो भवति तस्येदमित्येतस्मिन् विषये ॥

122. When preceded by a word denoting 'a draught animal', रथ takes the affix अञ् in the sense of 'this is his.'

This debars यत् ॥ Thus आश्वरथं चक्रं 'the wheel of a horse-cart.' औष्ट्ररथम् ॥ गार्धभ रथं ॥

The word यत् means 'that by which any one goes' or a draught-animal, like camel. It is formed by the affix घृत् (III. 2. 182).

पत्राध्वर्युपरिषदः ॥ १२३ ॥ पदानि ॥ पत्र-अध्वर्यु-परिषदः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पत्रं वाहनं तद्वाचिनः प्रातिपदिकार्धव्युपरिषच्छब्दाभ्यां चाम्प्रत्ययो भवति तत्त्वेनमित्येतस्मिन्निषये, ऽजोपवाहः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ पत्राद्याद्ये ॥

123. After a word denoting a draught-animal, and after the words 'adhvaryu' and 'parishad,' the affix अश् is added.

This debars अश् ॥ The पत्र means वाहन ॥ When the sense is that of a thing to be carried, then is अश् added to a word denoting 'a draught-animal.' Thus अश्वस्येदम् वहनीयम् = आश्वम् 'a load to be or suited for being, carried by horse.' So also औष्ट्रम्, गार्धभम् ॥ So also आभर्षयम् and पारिषदम् ॥

हलसीराट्ठक् ॥ १२४ ॥ पदानि ॥ हल-सीराट्-ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हलसीराट्ठकाभ्यां ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्त्वेनमित्यस्मिन्निषयेऽजोपवाहः ॥

124. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'this is his,' after the words 'hala' and 'sira.'

Thus हलस्येदम् = हालिकम्, सैरिकम् ॥

द्वन्द्वाद्बुन् वैरमैथुनिकयोः ॥ १२५ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वन्द्वात्-बुन्-वैर-मैथुनिकयोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वन्द्वात्तद्वाद्बुन् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्त्वेनमित्येतस्मिन्निषये, वैरमैथुनिकयोः प्रत्ययार्थविशेषणयोः ॥

अजोपवाहः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ वैरे देवासुपदिभ्यः प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

125. The affix बुन् comes in the sense of 'this is his', after Dvandva compounds of words denoting 'mutual enmity', or 'matrimonial relationship'

This debars अश् and छ ॥ Thus of 'enmity' बाधभ्यश्चालङ्कारयनिका, काकोष्ठिका ॥ Similarly of married couples as, अग्निभरद्वाजिका, कुत्सकुण्डिका ॥

The Dvandva compounds of words denoting natural enemies will be singular neuter by II. 4. 9. Their secondary derivatives, however, are feminine.

Vart.—Prohibition must be stated of the word देवासुर &c. As देवासुरम् ॥ राक्षोऽसुरम् वैरम् ॥

गोत्रेचरणाद्बुञ्ज् ॥ १२६ ॥ पदानि ॥ गोत्र-चरणात्-बुञ्ज् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोत्रवाचिभ्यश्चरणवाचिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो बुञ्ज्प्रत्ययो भवति तत्त्वेनमित्येतस्मिन्निषये, ऽजोपवाहः ॥

126. The affix बुञ्ज् comes, in the sense of 'this is his', after the words denoting Family-names or names of Vedic Schools.

This debars अश् as well छ ॥ Thus gotra:—गौपिकायनकम्, औपगवकम् ॥ According to Patanjali, the word चरण which ordinarily means Vedic School,

means here duties or doctrines (dharma), and traditions (āmnaya). Thus कठानां धर्म आम्नायो वा = काठकम् 'the dharma-Sutras or the tradition belonging to the school of Kāṭhas'. So also कालापकम्, मीरकम्, वैष्णवकम् ॥

संघाङ्गलक्षणेष्वज्यभिज्ञामण् ॥ १२७ ॥ पदानि ॥ संघ-अङ्ग-लक्षणेषु-अज्-यज्-इजां, अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संघादिषु प्रत्ययार्थविशेषेष्वमन्ताद् यमन्ताद् इमन्ताच्च प्रातिपदिकान् प्रत्ययो भवति तस्यैव नित्यतस्मिन् विषये । पूर्वस्य पुमोऽपवादः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ घोषमहणमत्र कर्तव्यम् ॥

127. The affix अण् comes in the sense of 'this is his', after a Patronymic word ending with the affix अज्, यज् or इज्, the words so formed expressing a multitude, a mark or a sign.

The word संघ means 'congregation'. The word लक्षण and अङ्ग should be distinguished. लक्षण means a mark which is the property of that person and forms a *distinguishing* feature of that person, as विद्या 'learning' is a लक्षण of the clan of Bidas, the Bidas being famous for learning. The word अङ्ग is a mark which shows that the thing so marked is the property of another : as a mark on a cow showing to what person or clan that cow belongs. The अङ्ग though occurring in a person or thing does not *belong* to that person or thing, as the mark of a cow does not belong to the cow, but the लक्षण is a mark which belongs to the person or thing wherein it is found.

This sūtra debars पुम् of the last aphorism.

Vart :—The word घोष 'a cow-pen', should also be read along with संघ &c. Thus the words so formed denote *four* things (1) congregation, (2) mark (3) sign (4) a hamlet or cowpen. This being so, the rule of mutual correspondence according to order of enumeration (I. 3. 10) does not apply.

Thus अमन्तात् (IV. 1. 104)—वैदः 'a congregation, or mark or sign or a hamlet of the Bidas'. यमन्तात् (IV. 1. 105)—गार्ग्ये + अण् = गार्ग्यः (VI. 4. 148, 151) 'a congregation, or a mark, or a sign or a hamlet belonging to the Gārgyās? इमन्तात् (IV. 1. 95),—शक्ति + अण् = शक्तिः (VI. 4. 148) 'a congregation &c of the Dākshis'.

The ण् of अण् could not serve the purpose of Vṛiddhi here, for all the words to which this affix is added, have Vṛiddhi by virtue of the affixes अज्, यज् or इज् in which they end. The अ would have served the purpose as well, so far as Vṛiddhi is concerned, but अण् is used to show that the feminine is formed by ङीष् (IV. 1. 15), Thus वैरी ॥ It further prevents पुंवद्भाव in compounds (VI. 3. 39), as, वैरी विद्याऽस्य = वैरीविद्यः i. e. विद्वानामसाधारणी या विद्या सा यस्यास्ति स ॥

शाकलाद्वा ॥ १२८ ॥ पदानि ॥ शाकलात्, वा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शाकलसंघासंघासिषु प्रत्ययार्थविशेषणेषु बाष्प्रत्ययो भवति तत्त्वैरन्त्येतस्मिन्विषये । पुमो-
पवाहः ॥

128. The affix अण् optionally comes, in the sense of 'this is his congregation, mark, sign or hamlet,' after the word शाकल ॥

This debars डुम् ॥ Thus शाकलेन प्रोक्तमधीवते - शाकलः (IV. 3. 101 and IV. 2. 64), शाकलान्वा संघः - शाकलः or शाकलकः (IV. 3. 126) meaning 'a congregation, &c of the students of the science revealed by Śākala.'

छन्दोगौक्तिकाधिक्यवह्वृचनटाभ्यः ॥ १२९ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दोग-औक्तिक-
याधिक-वह्वृच-नटात्, भ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संघास्यो निवृत्ताः, सामान्येन विधानम् । छन्दोगादिभ्यः छन्देभ्योभ्यः प्रत्ययो भवति तत्त्वैरन्त्येतस्मिन्विषये । पुमोपवाहः ॥

129. The affix भ्य comes in the sense of 'this is his Law or Tradition,' after the words 'chhândoga,' 'aukthika,' 'yājñika,' 'bahvricha' and 'nāṭa.'

The anuvṛtiti of संघ &c ceases. The अन् debars अङ् and डुम् ॥ The phrase चरणाध्वनाययोः from sūtra IV. 3. 126 is understood here and applies even to the word नटा ॥

Thus छन्दोगानां धर्मो वा ऽऽ न्नायो वा छान्दोग्यम् 'the Law or Tradition peculiar to the Chhandoga.' So also औक्तिक्यम्, याज्ञिक्यम्, बाह्वृच्यम् and नाट्यम् ॥

Not having this sense we have : छान्दोगं कुलम् 'the family of Chhandoga.'

न दण्डमाणवान्तेवासिषु ॥ १३० ॥ पदानि ॥ न, दण्ड-माणव, अन्तेवासिषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दण्डप्रधाना माणवा दण्डमाणवाः, अन्तेवासिनः शिष्या, स्तेष्वभिधेयेषु डुम् प्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

130. The affix डुम् is not used after a Family-name, when it denotes a 'beginner pupil', and 'a boarder pupil.'

The word दण्डमाणवाः means a little naughty boy (माणव), the only means of instilling knowledge in whom is the rod (दण्ड), or whose principal sign of studentship is the 'daṇḍa' and nothing intrinsic. i. e. a mere beginner. The न is changed to ञ in माणव by IV. 1. 161 kārīkā. अन्तेवासिनः are pupils or boarders who live in their teacher's house. The word 'gotra' is understood here. Thus शास्ताः "the junior or the senior pupils of Dākshi." माहकाः ॥ So also गोकर्त्ता दण्डमाणवा अन्तेवासिनोवा ॥

रैवतिकादिभ्यश्छः ॥ १३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ रैवतिकादिभ्यः, छः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रैवतिकादिभ्यश्छः प्रत्ययो भवति तत्त्वैरन्त्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

131. The affix छ comes in the sense of 'this is his', after the words रैवतिक &c.

All these words end with Gotra affixes, and require वुम् (IV. 3. 126), this ordains छ instead. Thus रैवतिकीयः, स्वापिचीयः &c.

1 रैवतिक, 2 स्वापिचि, 3 क्षेमवृद्धि, 4 गौरमीचि (गौरमीच), 5 औदमेचि (औदमेचि), 6 औदवाचि (औदवाहि), 7 वैजवाचि.

कौपिञ्जलहास्तिपदादण् ॥ १३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कौपिञ्जल-हास्तिपदात्-अण् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ कौपिञ्जलहास्तिपदशब्दाभ्यामण् प्रत्ययो भवति तस्येदमित्येतस्मिन्विषये । गोत्रवृजोपवादः ॥

132. The affix अण् comes in the sense of 'this is his', after the words 'kaupinjala' and 'hastipada'.

This debars वुम् (IV. 3. 126). Thus कौपिञ्जलः, हास्तिपदः ॥ This sūtra is really a Vārtika.

आथर्वणिकस्येकलोपश्च ॥ १३३ ॥ आथर्वणिकस्य, एकलोपः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अणित्येव । आथर्वणिकशब्दादण् प्रत्ययो भवति तस्मिन्नियोगेन चैकलोपः, तस्येदमित्येतस्मिन्विषये । चरणवृजोपवादः ॥

133. The affix अण् comes, in the sense of 'this is his', after the word 'ātharvanika', and the penultimate 'ika' is elided.

This debars वुम् (IV. 3. 126). Thus आथर्वणिकस्यायम् = आथर्वणो धर्म आम्नायोवा "the Atharvana i. e. the Law or the Tradition of the Atharvanikas". The phrase चरणार्धधर्मात्माययोः is understood here. This sūtra is also a vārtika.

तस्य विकारः ॥ १३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्य, विकारः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्येति षष्ठीसमर्थाद्विकार इत्येतस्मिन्विषये यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

134. An affix (IV. 1. 83 &c) comes after a word in the sixth case in construction, in the sense of 'a modification thereof'.

The word विकार means the change of condition of the original. The word तस्य, though its aunivṛitti could have been supplied from the previous sūtras, has been repeated here, in order to show that the governing force of दोषे (IV. 2. 92) does not extend further. The affixes taught, therefore, under दोषे (IV. 2. 92 &c), such as च, ख &c. have not the sense of तस्य विकार ॥

No affix has been taught here in this sūtra: the general affix अण् (IV. 1. 83) therefore will come in this sense, as well as the affixes to be taught hereafter. To give an example under this sūtra, we must take such a word which is not governed or provided for, by the subsequent sūtras. That is the

word must not denote a living animal for to it अण् (IV. 3. 154) applies; it must have udātta on the first syllable, for an anudāttādi will have अण् (IV. 3. 140); it must not have a Vṛiddhi vowel आ, ऐ, or औ in the first syllable, to which मयद् (IV. 3. 144) applies; and it must not be a word specifically mentioned in any one of the following aphorisms. Thus it applies to the words अङ्गम् and भस्मन् formed by मनिच् (Uṇ IV. 146, 145) and to श्रुतिका formed by विकृच् (V. 4. 39) which are ādyudātta owing to निच् accent. Thus अङ्गमनो विकारः = अङ्गमनः ॥ The रि is sometimes elided. (VI. 4. 144 Vārt) As आङ्गमः ॥ So also भास्मनः and मार्तिकः ॥

अवयवे च प्राण्योषधिवृक्षेभ्यः ॥ १३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अवयवे, च, प्राणी-ओषधि-वृक्षेभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राण्योषधिवृक्षवादिभ्यः शब्देभ्यः षष्ठीसमर्थेभ्यो ऽवयवे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति चकारादि-कारे च ॥

135. An affix comes after a word denoting an animal, a herb and a tree, in sixth case in construction, in the sense of 'this is its part', (as well as 'this is its modification').

By the word च in the sūtra, the phrase तस्य विकारः is also read into the sūtra.

Thus कपोतस्य विकारोऽवयवो वा = कापोतः (IV. 3. 154) ॥ So also मासूरः, तैसिरः 'a modification, product or part of a peacock &c—viz a fan &c.' So also ओषधिः as, मूर्धन्य 'product of Murva i. e. ashes or the stalk of Murva'. So also वृक्षः as, कारीरं meaning "the stalk or the ashes of Kārlra tree".

In the subsequent sūtras, both the words विकार and अवयव have governing force. But after words which denote non-animals, non-plants or non-trees, the affixes have only the sense of विकार ॥ This is a rather unique case of double anuvṛitti, not co-extensive in every respect.

बिल्वादिभ्यो ऽण् ॥ १३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ बिल्वादिभ्यः, अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बिल्व इत्येवमादिभ्यो ऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः । यथायोगमनमयदोऽपवादः ।

136. The affix अण् comes in the sense of 'its modification or its part,' after the words बिल्व &c.

This debars अण् and मयद् ॥ Thus बिल्वः 'the modification or part of Bilwa.' The word गवेधुकाः occurs in this list. It would have taken 'अण्' by the next sūtra also; its inclusion in the class of Bilwādi is for the sake of preventing the application of मयद् to this word.

1 बिल्व, 2 ब्रीहि, 3 काण्ड, 4 मुद्ग, 5 मसूर, 6 गोधूम, 7 हनु, 8 देवु, 9 गवेधुका, 10 कर्पासी, 11 पाटली, 12 कर्कण्डू, 13 कुटीर.

कोपधाञ्च ॥ १३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ क, उपधात्-ञ (अण्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ककारोपधाव्यातिपदिकारश्च प्रत्ययो भवति वयायोगं विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः । अणोपधात् ॥

137. After a word having क् as penultimate, the affix अण् comes, in the sense of modification or a part, or both, as appropriate.

This debars अम्. Thus तर्कुं तार्कवम्, तिस्तिरीकं, तेस्तिरीकं; माण्डूकम्, शार्पूकम्, माधूकम् ॥ The word तिस्तिरीकं &c have acute on the middle (Phit Su. II. 16).

अपुजतुनोः पुक् ॥ १३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपु-जतुनोः-पुक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपुजतुवाव्यामण् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारे, तत्सन्निधौगेन तयोः पुगागमो भवति । ओरओपधात् ॥

138. The affix अण् with the augment पुक् comes in the sense of 'its modification,' after the words 'trapun' and 'jatun'.

This debars अम् (IV. 3. 139). As, अपुजो विकारः = वापुवम्; जातुपम् "modification of tin and lac." In these words denoting non-organic beings, the sense of अवयव is not denoted by the affix.

ओरञ्च ॥ १३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ओः-अञ्च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उवर्णान्ताव्यातिपदिकारश्च प्रत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः, रणोपधात् ॥

139. The affix अञ्च comes after a word ending in short उ, in the sense of 'modification or part,' (provided that the word has not grave accent on the first syllable).

Thus देवसारवम्, माह्वसारवम् ॥ The words देवसार and माह्वसार are ādy-udatta owing to Phit Su. II. 14 (पीतवृक्षार्पानाम्—the trees denoting soft timber trees have acute on the first).

अनुदात्तादेश्च ॥ १४० ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुदात्तादेः, च (अञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुदात्तादेः प्रातिपदिकारश्च प्रत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः, रणोपधात् ॥

140. The affix अञ्च comes in the sense of 'modification or part,' after a word having anudatta accent on the first syllable.

This debars अम् ॥ Thus इधिस्थम्, कापिस्थम्, माहिस्थम् ॥ The word इधिस्थम् is an upapada-samāsa of इधि + स्थ, the इ being changed to इ ; and it is finally acute by कृदुत्तरपद प्रकृतित्तर ॥

पलाशादिभ्यो वा ॥ १४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ पलाशादिभ्यः-वा (अञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पलाशादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो वा ऽम् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः ॥

141. The affix अञ् comes optionally in the sense of 'modification or part', after the words पलाश &c.

Thus पालाशञ् or पामाशञ् so also क्षारिञ् or क्षारिर्ञ्, क्षाशञ् or क्षाशर्ञ् ॥

This sūtra is an example of prāpta and aprāpta vibhāṣā. The words पलाश, क्षारि, क्षिप्रपा and स्वप्न being gravely accented on the first syllable, the affix अञ् was obligatory by the last aphorism. This makes it optional, and is prāpta-vibhāṣā. In the case of others it is aprāpta-vibhāṣā.

1 पलाश, 2 क्षारि, 3 क्षिप्रपा, 4 स्वप्न (स्वप्न), 5 पलाक*, 6 क्षारि, 7 क्षिप्र, 8 क्षाश, 9 विकट्ट.

शम्याऽलञ् ॥ १४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ शम्याः-दलञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्षीराशम्याद् दलञ् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः । अमोपवादः ॥

142. The affix दलञ् comes in the sense of 'its modification or part', after the word शमी.

This debars अञ् ॥ Thus क्षमीत् नल, क्षमीत्नी कुक् (IV. 1. 60).

मयद्वैतयोर्भाषायामभस्याच्छादनयोः ॥ १४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ मयद्-चा-पतयोः, भाषायाम्, अभस्य-आच्छादनयोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रकृतिगतावां मयद् प्रत्ययो भवति भस्याच्छादनवर्जितयोर्विकारावयवयोरर्थयोर्भाषायां विषये वयायर्थं प्रत्ययेषु प्रातिङ् ॥

143. The affix मयद् comes optionally after any base, in those two meanings of product and part, in secular language, when neither food nor clothing is spoken of.

Thus अहममयद् or आहमनय् (IV. 3. 134) 'नृर्नयं or नीर्नयं (IV. 3. 135).

Why do we say भाषायाम् 'in secular language'? Witness वैष्णः क्षारितो वा सूपः स्वाह् ॥

Why do we say 'when neither food nor clothing is spoken of'? Observe नीरः सूपः 'a soup made of kidney beans'. कापान्तम् आच्छादनम् ॥

Why the word एतयोः 'in those two meanings' is used in the sūtra, when by context, the words विकार and अवयव were to be read into the sūtra? Its use indicates that the special affixes, such as taught in IV. 3. 135, 136 &c are replaced also by मयद् ॥ Thus कपोतमयद् or कापोतम् (IV. 3. 135), लोहमयद् or लोहम् ॥

नित्यं वृक्षशरादिभ्यः ॥ १४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ नित्यम्, वृक्ष-शरादिभ्यः (मयद्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भाषायामभस्याच्छादनयोरित्येव । वृक्षेभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यः शरादिभ्यश्च अभस्याच्छादनयोर्विकारावयवयोर्भाषायां विषये नित्यं मयद् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

144. The affix मयद् comes in the sense of its product or part, when neither food nor clothing is spoken of, invariably after Vṛiddha words, and after शर &c.

Thus after Vṛiddha—आममयम्, घालमयम्, चाकमयम् ॥ After शरादि words:—
शरमयम्, हर्ममयम्, मृन्मयम् ॥

Why do we use the word नित्यः 'invariably' in the sūtra, when by the mere fact of making a separate sūtra, the affix would be obligatory? The affix मयद्, according to Patanjali comes invariably after words of one syllable. That is done by using the word नित्य in the sūtra. Thus, खट्व मयम्, झट्व मयम्, बाह्व मयम् ॥

1 शर, 2 हर्म, 3 मृद्, 4 कुटी. 5 मृण, 6 सोम, 7 बल्लवज (बल्लवज).

गोश्च पुरीषे ॥ १४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ गोः, च-पुरीषे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोश्चाप्युरीषे ऽभिधेये मयद् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

145. affix मयद् comes after the word गो in the sense of 'its dung.'

Thus गोमयम् 'cow dung'. 'Dung' is neither a modification nor a part of cow. Therefore this separate sūtra for गो ॥ Why do we say meaning 'its dung'? Observe गव्यं = milk. The affix यत् here comes in the sense of product or part. (IV. 3. 160), though strictly speaking 'milk' also is not an 'avayava' or a 'vikāra' of गो ॥

पिष्टाश्च ॥ १४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ पिष्टात्-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पिष्टाश्चान्नित्यं मयद् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्त्व विकार इत्येतस्मिन्विषये, ऽणोपवारः ॥

146. The affix मयद् invariably comes in the sense of its product or part, after the word पिष्ट ॥

This debars अण् ॥ Thus पिष्टमयं भस्म ॥ Otherwise अण्, as पेदी सुप in the sense of तत्त्वेदम् ॥

संज्ञायां कन् ॥ १४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायां-कन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पिष्टाश्चात्कन् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारे संज्ञायां विषये । मयदोपवारः ॥

147. The affix कन् comes in the sense of product, after the word पिष्ट, the whole word being a Name.

This debars मयद् ॥ As पिष्टकः ॥

घ्रीहेः पुरोडाशे ॥ १४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ घ्रीहेः-पुरोडाशे (मयद्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ घ्राह्यश्चाह्नान्मयद् प्रत्ययो भवति पुरोडाशे विकारे । वित्त्वाद्यणोपवारः ॥

148. The affix मयद् comes after the word घ्रीहे in the sense of a 'Puroḍāsa.'

This debars अण् (IV. 3. 136). Thus श्रीहिमवः पुरोडासः 'a sacred cake made of barley.' Otherwise त्रेहण् ॥

असंज्ञायां तिलयवाभ्याम् ॥ १४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ असंज्ञायाम्, तिल-यवाभ्याम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ तिलयवच्छास्त्राभ्यामसंज्ञाविषये मयद् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः ॥

149. The affix मयद् comes in the sense of 'its product or part,' after the words 'tila' and 'yava'—the whole not being a name.

Thus तिलमयम्, यवमयम्, ॥ Why do we say असंज्ञायाम् "it not being a Name?" Observe तैलम् 'oil,' बाधकः formed with कन्. (बाधोक्तिः कन् V. 4. 29)

द्व्यच्यदछन्दसि ॥ १५० ॥ पदानि ॥ द्व्यच्यः-छन्दसि (मयद्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ द्व्यचः प्रातिपदिकाच् छन्दसि विषये मयद् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः ॥

150. In the Chhandas, after a dissyllabic word, the affix मयद् comes in the sense of 'its product or part.'

This ordains मयद् in the sacred literature also, secular literature being dealt with in IV. 3. 143. Thus पर्जनमयः, वर्त्मनयः, शरमयः in the following वस्य पर्जनयो ऊर्ध्वमवति, वर्त्मनयम् वातो भवति, शरमयम् बहिर्भवति ॥

नोत्त्वद्वर्द्धयित्वात् ॥ १५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ न-उत्त्वत्-वर्द्ध-यित्वात् (मयद्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ उत्त्वतः प्रातिपदिकाद्वर्द्धयित्वच्छास्त्राभ्यां च मयद् प्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

151. The affix मयद् does not come in the Chhandas after the dissyllabic words, having a short vowel उ in them, nor after the words 'vardhra' and 'bilwa.'

Thus मौञ्जं शिक्यम् from मुञ्ज by अण् ॥ गार्मुतं चक्रम्, वार्ध्री बालप्रमयिता भवति; बेल्वो ब्रह्मवर्षसकामेन कार्यः ॥

The word उन्वत् means 'having उन् or short u (I. 1. 70)' The rule does not apply to words containing long ऊ, as भूमयान्यभ्याणि ॥ The वत् in उत्त्वत् shows that the rule applies not only to words *ending* in उ, but also to words *having* उ. Had वत् not been used, the tadanta-vidhi would require the application of the rule to words *ending* in उ, but not to those which had उ in any other part of their form. So that the prohibition applies to वेणु also, as वेणवी वटिः (IV. 3. 136).

The word मुञ्ज is Ady-udatta by तुणधान्यानां (Phit II. 4): and therefore it takes the universal अण् (IV. 3. 134). The word गार्मुत् is formed by the affix उन् plus the augment मुद् (गुमाहूतः, घोमुद्घ Uṇ I. 94 and 95), and is finally acute, and therefore it takes अण् by IV. 3. 140, and forms गार्मुत् ॥ This word has

acute on the final also, as तत्त्वा एतं गार्तुं चरं निर्दिशेत् ॥ The word चरं is adyudatta by Phit II. 19. and therefore takes अञ्, the feminine being formed by ङीष् (IV. 1. 15).

तालादिभ्योऽण् ॥ १५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ तालादिभ्यः, अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तालादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो ऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः । मयडादीनामपवादः ॥

152. The affix अण् comes in the sense of 'its product or part', after the words 'tāla &c'.

This debars मयट् &c. Thus तालं धनुः, बार्हिणम्, इन्द्रालिघम् ॥

1 तालाधनुषि, 2 बार्हिण, 3 इन्द्रालिघ, 4 इन्द्रादृघ, 5 इन्द्राधुध, 6 चय (चाप, चर्म), 7 दद्या-
माक, 8 पीडुका.

जातरूपेभ्यः परिमाणे ॥ १५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ जातरूपेभ्यः-परिमाणे (अञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जातरूपं सुवर्णम् । बहुवचननिर्देशात्तद्वाचिनः सर्वे गृह्यन्ते । जातरूपवाचिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो ऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति परिमाणे विकारे । मयडादीनामपवादः ॥

153. The affix अण् comes after a word denoting 'gold', when the sense is a weight or measure.

The word जातरूप means 'gold'. It is used in the plural in the sūtra, indicating that all words synonymous with gold are to be taken.

This debars मयट् &c. Thus हाटकौ निष्कः, हाटकं कार्पापणम्, जातरूपम्, ताप-
नीयम् ॥

Why do we say 'meaning a measure'. Observe यहिरिव हाटकमयी ॥

प्राणिरजतादिभ्यो ऽञ् ॥ १५४ ॥ प्राणि-रजतादिभ्यः-अञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राणिवाचिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो रजतादिभ्यश्चाञ् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः । अणारी-
नामपवादः ॥

154. The affix अञ् comes in the sense of 'its product or part', after words expressing living beings, and after रजत &c.

This debars अण् &c. The affix अञ् has been ordained to come after those words that have anudatta in the beginning. This sūtra applies to words other than those having anudatta in the beginning.

Thus:—कापोतम्, मायूरम्, तैन्निरम्; राजतम्, सैसम्; लोहम्, &c. In the class रजतादि those words like रजत, कण्टकार &c, which have anudatta on the beginning and would have taken अञ् by IV. 3. 140, have been enumerated to prevent the application of मयट् to them.

1 रजत, 2 सैस, 3 लोह. 4 उषुम्बर, 5 नीप (नीच, नील), 6 शर, 7 रोहीतक (रोहितक), 8 वि-
भीतक, 9 पीतशर (कपीत, शर), 10 तीव्रशर, 11 विकण्टक, 12 कण्टकार.

भित्तश्च तत्प्रत्ययात् ॥ १५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ भितः-श्च-तत्-प्रत्ययात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभित्येव । तदिति विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः प्रत्ययवर्गः । मिथोविकारावयवप्रत्ययस्तदन्ताव्याविह-
विकारम् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोरैव । नवदोषवारः ॥

155. The affix अम् comes in the sense of 'its product or part', after a word which ends with an affix having an indicatory अ् such affix denoting 'its product or part'.

The affixes having indicatory अ् denoting product or part, are अम् (IV. 3. 139), इलम् (IV. 3. 142), अम् (IV. 3. 154) डम् (IV. 3. 157), डम् (IV. 3. 159), अम्, बम् (IV. 5. 168). When a tertiary derivative of a word ending with these affixes is to be made, the affix अम् is used. Thus देवसारवत् विकारेऽवयवो वा-देवसारवत्; so also राधित्यन्, पालाशन्, घामीलन्, कापोतन्, भीष्टकन्, ऐजेवन्, कांत्वन्, पारसवन् ॥

Why do we say भित्तः? Witness वेत्तमयं. Here मय् is used after वेत्त and the derivative is formed by अम् of IV. 3. 136. So also वेत्तमयन् ॥

क्रीतवत्परिमाणात् ॥ १५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्रीतवत्-परिमाणात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राग्बतेष्ठमित्यत आरभ्य क्रीतार्थे ये प्रत्ययाः परिमाणाद्विहित्वास्ते विकारेऽर्जितदिश्यन्ते । परिमाणात् क्रीत इव प्रत्यया भवन्ति तस्य विकार इत्येतस्मिन्विषये । अणादीनामपवादः ॥

156. After a word denoting 'a measure', the affix expressing 'its product or part' is the same as the affix having the sense of purchased.

The affixes taught in V. 1. 18 &c are the affixes that have the force of क्रीत (V. 1. 37). These affixes come also after words denoting measure (V. 1. 19). The same affixes are employed to denote विकार, after words denoting परिमाण ॥ This debars अम् &c. Thus निष्क्रेण क्रीतम्-मैष्णिकम् (V. 1. 20); It will denote vikāra also, निष्क्रेण विकारः-मैष्णिकः formed by डम् (V. 1. 20). As घतेनक्रीतं-घत्वं or घतिकम् (V. 1. 21), so घतत्वं विकारः-घत्वं or घतिकः by डम् and यन् (V. 1. 21), सहस्रेणक्रीतं-साहस्रम् (V. 1. 27) so सहस्रत्वं विकारः-साहस्रः (V. 1. 27 by अम्) ॥

The word वन् in क्रीतवन् indicates that the similarity is complete throughout. Thus Sūtra V. 1. 28 also applies, by which the affix is elided. As द्विसहस्रः or द्विसाहस्रः (V. 1. 29), द्विनिष्कः or द्विनेष्णिकः ॥ The word परिमाण in this sūtra includes संख्या 'the numerals' also; while the technical word परिमाण does not include sankhyā. See IV. 1. 22 and V. 1. 19 &c. The similarity extends even to the elision of affix (V. 1. 28) as, द्विसहस्रः, द्विसाहस्रः &c.

उष्ट्राद्वुष् ॥ १५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ उष्ट्रात्, वुष् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उष्ट्राद्वुष् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः । प्राग्यमोपवादः ॥

157. The affix **बुञ्** comes in the sense of 'its product or part', after the word 'ushtra.

This debars **अञ्** (IV. 3. 154). उष्ट्रस्य विकारोऽवयवो वा = औष्ट्रकः ॥

उमोर्णयोर्वा ॥ १५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ उमा-ऊर्णयोः-चा (बुञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उमाश्चाङ्गाङ्गाङ्गाङ्गा वा बुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः ।

158. The affix **बुञ्** comes optionally in the sense of 'its product or part, after the words उमा and ऊर्णा.

Thus औमन् or औमकन्, और्णन् or और्णकन् ॥

एण्या ढञ् ॥ १५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ एण्याः, ढञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एणीश्चाङ्गाङ्गाङ्गाङ्गा वा ढञ् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः । प्राण्यभोपवादः ॥

159. The affix **ढञ्** comes in the sense of 'its product or part,' after the feminine word एणी ॥

Thus ऐजेयं मांसन् 'the flesh of a female black deer.' But एणस्य मांसन् = ऐजन् 'the flesh of a male deer', formed by **अञ्** ॥

गोपयसोर्यत् ॥ १६० ॥ पदानि ॥ गो-पयसोः, यत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोपयः शब्दाभ्यां यत् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः ॥

160. The affix **यत्** comes in the sense of 'its product or part,' after the words गो and पयस् ॥

Thus गव्यन् (VI. 1. 79), पयस्यन् ॥

द्रोश्च ॥ १६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्रोः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्रुश्चापत्यत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः । भोरभोपवादः ॥

161. The affix **यत्** comes in the sense of 'its product or part' after the word 'dru.'

This debars **अञ्** (IV. 3. 139). Thus द्रु + यत् = द्रुय्यन् (VI. 1. 79).

माने वयः ॥ १६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ माने-वयः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्रुश्चाङ्गान्माने विकारविशेषे वयः प्रत्ययो भवति । यतोपवादः ॥

162. The affix **वय** comes in the sense of 'its product,' after the word 'dru,' the word meaning 'a measure.'

This debars **यत्** ॥ As द्रुवयन् 'a measure.'

फले लुक् ॥ १६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ फले, लुक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विकारावयवयोरुत्पन्नस्य फले तद्विशेषे विवक्षिते लुक् भवति ॥

163. The affix denoting 'product or part' is elided by *luk*, when such product or part is 'a fruit.'

Thus आमलक्याः फलं = आमलकी + मयद् लुक् = आमलकं 'the fruit of Myrobalans.' So also वदरम् ॥ The fruit is a "product" as well as a "part" of a fruit-bearing tree.

पुक्षादिभ्योऽण् ॥ १६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुक्षादिभ्यः-अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ फलइत्येव । पुक्षादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यः फले विकारावयवत्वेन विवक्षिते ऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति । अ-
भ्योपवादः ॥

164. The affix अण् comes in the sense of 'its product or part, it being a fruit,' after the word 'plaksha &c.'

This debars अम् ॥ Thus प्लाक्षम्, मेघमोषम् ॥

1 वृक्ष, 2 न्यमोष, 3 अन्धस्थ, 4 इङ्गुली, 5 शिपु, 6 रुद्र, 7 कस्तु (कर्कन्धु, कर्कन्तु कर्कतु)
8 वृक्षी. ॥

जम्ब्या वा ॥ १६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ जम्ब्याः-वा (अण्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ फलइत्येव । जम्ब्याः फलेभिधेये वाऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति । अभ्योपवादः ॥

165. The affix अण् comes optionally in denoting a fruit, after the word 'jambû'.

This debars अम् ॥ Thus जम्बु + अण् = जाम्बवं as जाम्बवानि फलानि ॥ But when the general affix अम् is added, it is elided by IV. 3. 163. As जम्बु + अम् (IV. 3. 139) = जम्बु, as जम्बूनि फलानि (VI. 4. 8) ॥

लुप् च ॥ १६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ लुप्-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वेत्येव । जम्ब्याः फलेभिधेये प्रत्ययस्य वा लुप् भवति । शुक्लवस्त्रावे विशेषः ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ लुप्प्रकरणे फलपाकशुषामुपसंख्यानम् ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ पुष्पमूलेषु बहुलम् ॥

166. The affix denoting fruit is optionally elided by *lup* after the word 'jambû'.

The word वा is understood here. The difference between 'luk' and 'lup' elision is that in the case of 'lup', there is concordance of gender and number. See sūtra I. 2. 51. Thus जम्बु + अमूलुप् = जम्बुः, as, जम्बुः फलं ॥ Optionally जम्ब्याः फलं = जम्बु फलं, or जाम्बवं ॥

Vart :—There is *lup*-elision of the affix denoting fruit, after the words expressing deciduous plants which wither away as soon as the fruit ripens : Thus व्रीहिः-व्रीह्यः, यवाः, माषाः, मुद्गाः, तिलाः ॥

Vart :—Diversely so when the affix denotes flowers and roots : as, मालिकायां पुष्पं = मल्लिका, नवमल्लिका जातिः ; so also विरार्या मूलं = विरारी ॥ अशुभमती वृक्षी ॥

In the above example there is concordance. By using 'diversely', this concordance does not sometime take place. As पादलानि पुष्पाणि, शास्त्रानि मूलानि ॥ So कर्मणं पुष्पं, मद्योक्तम्, कर्षीरम्, वैद्वानि कत्तानि &c.

हरीतक्यादिभ्यश्च ॥ १६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ हरीतक्यादिभ्यः-ञ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हरीतकी इत्येवमादिभ्यः घञ्भ्यः फले प्रत्ययस्य लुक् भवति । लुकिमात्रे लुपो विधाने शुक्लवशादे जीप्रत्ययश्रवणे च विघातः ॥

167. The affix denoting 'fruit' is elided by लुप, after the words 'Haritaki' &c.

Here also there is concordance (I. 2. 51), As हरीतक्याः फलं-हरीतकी instead of हरीतकं ॥ So also कोशातकी, नखरञ्जनी ॥ According to Patanjali, the concordance is with regard to gender only, the number will be governed by the sense, as हरीतकी फलं, हरीतक्यः फलानि ॥

1 हरीतकी, 2 कोशातकी, 3 नखरञ्जनी (नखररञ्जनी) 4 घाक्कण्डी (घाकण्डी) 5 शडी, 6 शोडी, 7 धेतपाकी, 8 मर्जुनपाकी, 9 श्राक्षा, 10 काला, 11 भाक्षा (भाह्क्षा) 12 गभीका (गगंरिका) 13 कण्टकारिका, 14 पिप्पली*, 15 चिञ्चा* (चिम्या), 16 शेफालिका, 17 रडी. ॥

कंसीयपरशव्ययोर्यञ्जौ लुक् च ॥ १६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कंसीय-परशव्ययोः, यञ्-अञौ, लुक्-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राक्कीताच्छेन कंसीयः । उगवादिभ्यो यन् । परशव्यः । कंसीयपरशव्यशब्दाभ्यां यथासंख्यं यञ्जौ प्रत्ययो भवतस्तस्य विकार इत्येतस्मिन्विषय, तत्संनियोगेन च कंसीयपरशव्ययोरुल्लङ्ग भवति ॥

168. The affixes यञ्, and अञ् come respectively in the sense of 'its product', after the words 'kansīya' and 'parasavya', and there is luk-elision (of the छ and यत् affixes of those words).

The word कंसीयः is formed by छ (V. 1. 1), and परशव्य is formed by adding यत् (V. 1. 2). These affixes छ and यत् are elided when the affixes यञ् and अञ् are added. Thus कंसीय + यञ् = कंस + यञ् = कांस्यः so also परशव्य from परशव्य thus परशव्य + अञ् = परशु + अञ् = पारशवः ॥

The words लुक् च mean 'there shall be elision'. Of what? Certainly not of the primitive, for लुक् is never applied to the elision of a base, but of an affix only (I. 1. 61). It follows therefore that the elision is of the affixes of कंसीय and परशव्य ॥ Now these words have two affixes, thus. To the root कन् is added first the Uṇādi affix स (Uṇ III. 62) and we get कंस; next to कंस is added छ. So also to पर + घृ is added the affix ङ (Uṇ I. 33) and we have परशु, to which is then added यत् and we have परशव्य ॥ The question arises, should these affixes स and ङ be also elided. The answer is 'no'. The word प्रातिपदिकान् of IV. 1. 1 is understood is this sūtra; so the elision will take place of those affixes only

which follow a prâtipadika. But ल and ङ are added to a Dhātu and not a prâtipadika, hence those affixes are saved from the operation of लुक् ॥

The word पराचक्ष being gravely accented on the first (VI. 1. 185) would have taken अच् by IV. 3. 140. The present sūtra teaches the elision only of its affix चक्ष, अच् being already obtained.

Q. The final अ of कसीच and पराचक्ष will be elided by VI. 4. 148 before these taddhita affixes, and after such elision, the final च् will be elided by VI. 4. 150, where is then the necessity of this sūtra?

A. The final च् will not be elided, because VI. 4. 150 will apply only then, when an affix beginning with long ई follows, which is not the case here.



ओ३म् ।

अथ चतुर्थाध्यायस्य चतुर्थः पादः ।

BOOK FOURTH.

CHAPTER FOURTH.

प्राग्वहतेष्टक् ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राक्-बहतेः, ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्वहति रययुगमासङ्गमिति वक्ष्यति । प्रागंतस्माद्वहति संवाचनार्थानर्थाननुक्रमिष्यामः, ठक् प्रत्ययस्तेष्वधिकृतो वेदितव्यः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ ठक्प्रकरणे तदाहोति मावावादिभ्य उपसंख्यानम् ॥

वा० ॥ भाहोप्रभूतादिभ्यः ॥ वा० ॥ पृच्छतो सुस्नातादिभ्यः ॥ वा० ॥ मच्छतो परशारादिभ्यः ॥

1. The affix ठक् comes as a governing affix, in the senses enumerated hereafter up to sūtra IV. 4. 76.

This is an adhikāra sūtra. The affix ठक् bears rule from this one forward to the sūtra तद्वहति &c. Thus in the next sūtra it is said; "After a word in the third case in construction, in the sense of "who plays, digs, conquers, or is conquered." Now this sūtra is incomplete. We must read the word ठक् into it. Thus अक्षे ईव्यति = भाक्षिकः "who plays with aksha—a dicer." अक्ष + ठक् = भाक्षिकः (VII. 3. 50).

Vart:—After the words मावाह &c, the affix 'thak' comes in the sense 'he said that.' Thus मावाह इत्याह = मावाहिकः who says 'don't make noise,' कार्यवाहिकः ॥ This is the case of an affix added to a sentence.

Vart:—So also after प्रभूत &c in the sense 'he said': as प्रभूतमाह = प्राहृतिकः, पार्याप्तिकः ॥ These are examples of affixes added to an adverb.

Vart:—So also after सुस्नात &c in the sense 'he asks,' as, सुस्नातं पृच्छति = सोस्नातिकः "Who asks, have you bathed well". साखराजिकः, सौख्यायनिकः ॥

Vart:—So also after परशारा &c in the sense of 'he goes to, or commits adultery with': as परशारान् गच्छति = पारशारिकः, गौरस्तल्पिक ॥ The word तल्प here refers to "wife".

तेन दीव्यति खनति जयति जितम् ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ तेन-दीव्यति-खनति-जयति जितम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेति सुतीयासमर्थाद् दीव्यति खनति जयति जितमित्येतेष्वर्थेषु ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

2. The affix उक् comes after a word in the third case in construction, in the sense of, 'he plays', 'he digs', 'he conquers' or 'he is conquered'.

Thus अक्षेरीष्यति = भाषिकः 'who plays with dice—a dicer'. शालाकिकः ॥ अग्न्या खनति = भाषिकः, कौशालिकः, अक्षेर्जयति = भाषिकः, अक्षेर्जितं = भाषिकम् ॥ शालाकिकम् ॥

Though the rule is couched in universal terms, yet the affix does not come after every instrumental case. Thus देवदत्तेन जितम् will not give rise to any affix, for the word देवदत्तिकः is not found in usage having this sense. So also अंगुल्या खनति gives rise to no affix. Though the verbs 'divyati' &c, are in the 3rd Person Present Tense, Singular number, the derivative is not limited by these conditions. Thus भाषिकौ and भाषिकाः are also valid, and so also अक्षेरीष्यन् will give also भाषिकः; so also भाषिकस्त्वम् भाषिकोऽहम् ॥ Though in a sentence the verb is generally the principal word (क्रियाप्रधान), here owing to the Taddhita affix, the instrument is taken as the principal.

संस्कृतम् ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ संस्कृतम् (उक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेति तृतीयासमर्थ्यात्संस्कृतमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे उक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

3. The affix उक् comes after a word in the third case in construction, in the sense of 'refined thereby'.

The word संस्कृतम् means 'refining or enhancing the quality of a thing'. Thus दध्ना संस्कृतं = राधिकम् 'refined or made tasteful by curd'. So also शार्ङ्गवेरिकम्, नारीचिकम् ॥

The separation of this sūtra from the last, is for sake of the next sūtra, in which the anuvṛitti of संस्कृतं only runs,

कुलत्थकोपधादण् ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुलत्थ-कोपधात्-अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुलत्थशब्दात्कारोपधाच्छब्दाच्च प्रातिपदिकादण् प्रत्ययो भवति संस्कृतमित्येतस्मिन्विषये । उकोपधादः ॥

4. After the word 'kulattha', and after words having a penultimate क्, the affix अण् is added in the sense of 'refined or prepared therewith'.

This debars उक् ॥ Thus कौलथम्, तैत्तिडीकम्, शार्ङ्गभकम्, the two latter being examples of words ending in क् ॥

तरति ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तरति (उक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेति तृतीयासमर्थ्यात्तरतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे उक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

5. The affix उक् comes after a word in the third case in construction, in the sense of 'he crosses there by over the waters'.

Thus काण्डफलकेनतरति = काण्डफलकः, गौडुपिकः 'who crosses with a raft'.

गोपुच्छाद्ठक् ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ गोपुच्छात्-ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोपुच्छाद्वाद् ठक्प्रत्ययो भवति तरतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ङकोपवाहः ॥

6. The affix ठक् comes after the word 'gopuchchha', in the sense of 'he crosses thereby'.

The difference between ठक् and ठक् is in the accent. Thus गौडुपिकः ॥

नौद्वयचष्टन् ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ नौद्वयचः-ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नौद्वयाद् द्वयच प्रातिपदिकाद् ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति तरतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे । ङकोपवाहः ॥

Kārika

आकर्षात्पारिभञ्जार्थः कुसीरसूत्राच्च ।

अवासयात्किञ्चारेः पितः पठेते ङगधिकारे ॥

7. The affix ठक् comes after the word नौ and after bases having two syllables, in the sense of 'he crosses there with'.

This debars ठक् ॥ Thus नावा तरति = नाविकः 'a sailor'. So also after dissyllabic words : as, पटिकः, फलिकः, बाहुकः ॥

The च in ठक् in the sūtra is not part of the affix, but comes through sandhi rules. The feminine of बाहुकः being बाहुका ॥ In fact the indicatory च occurs in these sūtras only IV. 4, 9, 10, 18, 53 and 74, in this book.

चरति ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ चरति (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वेनेति तृतीयासमर्थाच्चरतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ङक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

8. After a word in the third case in construction, comes the affix ठक् in the sense of 'he goes on by means thereof'.

The word चरति means both to go on and to eat. Thus इध्ना चरति = राधिकः 'who gets on, with being fed on curd, हस्तिनिकः 'who travels by an elephant'. शाकदिकः ॥

आकर्षान्छल् ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ आकर्षात्-छल् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आकर्षाद्वाद् छल् प्रत्ययो भवति चरतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे । ङकोपवाहः ॥

9. The affix छल् comes in the sense of 'he goes on, by means thereof' after the word 'ākarsha.'

This debars ठक् ॥ The छ is for accent (VI. 1. 193). The च of छल् here is a part of the affix, contrary to what it was in sūtra 7 ante. To remove the doubt where च is the part of an affix, and where it is not, the following mnemonic verse has been composed : "आकर्षात् पारिभञ्जार्थः कुसीरसूत्राच्च, अवासयात्

किरापरेः वित्तः पडेते इगधिकारे ॥ In the six Sūtras 9, 10, 16, 31, 74, and 53, the affixes have indicatory 'sh.' Here च being इन्, the feminine is formed by डीच् (IV. 1. 41). Thus आकर्येच चरति—आकार्यिक / आकार्यिकी ॥ आकर्य is a touch-stone by which gold is tested.

पर्यादिभ्यः छन् ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ पर्यादिभ्यः, छन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पर्य इत्येवमारिभ्यः छन् प्रत्ययो भवति चरतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे । इकोपचारः ॥

10. The affix छन् comes, in the sense of 'he goes on,' by means there of' after the words 'parpa' &c.

This debars इङ्; the ङ् of इङ् is for accent (VI. 1. 197), and ङ् for डीच् (IV. 1. 41). Thus पर्यिकः / पर्यिकी, अर्थिकः / अर्थिकी ॥ पर्यिकः / पर्यिकी ॥ The पाद् is changed to पद् before this affix (VI. 3. 52).

1 पर्य, 2 अर्थ, 3 अर्थव्य, 4 रथ, 5 जाल, 6 व्यास, 7 व्यास, 8 पाद्: पञ्च ॥

भगणादठञ्च ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ भगणात्, ठञ्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भगण्यष्टादठञ् प्रत्ययो भवति, चकारात् इङ्, चरतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे इकोपचारः ॥

11. The affix ठञ् as well as the affix छन्, comes after the word इवगण, in the sense of 'he goes on by means there of'

This debars इङ् ॥ Thus भगजेन चरति—भोगणिकः 'who lives by dogs'. / भगणिकी ॥ इङ्, भगणिकः / भगणिका ॥

The form भगणिकः is evolved by the breach of rule VII. 3. 4. Thus भगण + इङ् ॥ Here by VII. 2. 117, इङ् requires Vṛiddhi of अ of भ ॥ But rule VII. 3. 4 says that instead of Vṛiddhi, the letter ओ comes before च in the case of भञ् &c. The proper form, therefore, would have been भोगणिकः ॥ The irregularity is, however, explained by saying that the prohibition contained in VII. 3. 8 which applies when भञ् is followed by इङ्, applies also to भञ् followed by ठञ् ॥ In fact, the rule VII. 3. 4 does not apply, whenever the word भञ् is followed by an affix beginning with the letter इ ॥

वेतनादिभ्यो जीवति ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ वेतनादिभ्यः, जीवति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वेनेति तृतीयासनर्थेभ्यो वेतनारिभ्यः ण्वेभ्यो जीवतित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे इङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

12. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'he lives thereby', after the words 'vetana &c', being in the third case in construction.

Thus वेतनेन जीवति—वैतनिकः 'who lives upon wages—a menial servant'. In the case of the word अनुर्द्ध इङ् the affix applies to the compounds, as well as to the words forming the compound. Thus अनुर्द्धिकः, अनुर्द्धकः, सन्धिकः ॥

1 वेतन, 2 बाहन (बाह), 3 अर्धबाहन (अर्धबाह), 4 धनर्षण्डः 5 जाल, 6 वेद्य (वेस), 7 उपवेद्य (उपवेस, उपवेस), 8 प्रेषण, 9 उपवस्ति (उपस्ति), 10 सुख, 11 द्युष्या, 12 द्युक्ति, 13 उपनि-
वृ, 14 उपवेद्य, 15 स्विङ्क्* (स्विज), 16 वाह, 17 उपत्य*, 18 उपत्यान, 19 उपहस्त*, 20 ङ्क् ॥

घस्नक्रयविक्रयादङ्क् ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ घस्न, क्रय, विक्रयात्, ङ्क् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वलक्रयविक्रयघञ्वाभ्यां तृतीयासनर्थाभ्यां ङ्क् प्रत्ययो भवति जीवतीत्येतस्मिन्विषये । ङकोपवाहः ॥

13. The affix ङ्क् comes in the sense of 'he lives thereby' after the words 'vasna', 'kraya', and 'vikraya', being in the 3rd case in construction.

This debars ङ्क् ॥ Thus वस्नेन जीवति = वस्तिकः 'who lives by hire--hire-ling'. In the case of क्रय and विक्रय the affix is applied to the words separately, as well as to their compound. Thus क्रयविक्रयिकः, क्रयिकः, विक्रयिकः 'a trader'.

आयुधाच्छ च ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आयुधात्, छ, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आयुधघञ्छप्रत्ययो भवति, चकारादङ्क् जीवतीत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

14. The affix छ as well as ङ्क् comes in the sense of 'he lives thereby', after the word 'āyudha'.

Thus आयुधेन जीवति = आयुधीयः (formed by छ), or आयुधिकः (by ङ्क्) 'a mercenary soldier'.

हरत्युत्सङ्गादिभ्यः ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ हरति, उत्सङ्गादिभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेत्येव । उत्सङ्गादिभ्यस्तृतीयासनर्थाभ्यां हरतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ङ्क् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

15. The affix ङ्क् comes in the sense of 'he conveys thereby', after the words utsanga &c. being in the third case in construction.

The word हरति means 'to take away to or cause to reach another place'. Thus औत्सङ्गिकः 'borne upon the hip'. औदुषिकः 'borne or transported on a raft'.

1 उत्सङ्ग, 2 उदुष्, 3 उत्पुत (उत्पत), 4 उत्पन्न*, 5 उत्पद*, 6 पिटक, 7 पिदाक, 8 उदप.

भस्त्रादिभ्यः घृन् ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ भस्त्रादिभ्यः, घृन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भस्त्रेत्येवमादिभ्यस्तृतीयासनर्थाभ्यां हरतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे घृन्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

16. The affix घृन् comes, in the sense of 'he conveys', after the words 'bhasra &c' being in the third case in construction,

Thus भस्त्रया हरति = भस्त्रिकः "who conveys by means of a leathern bag, a carrier". The feminine will be भस्त्रिकी (IV, 1. 41). So भरटिकः f. भरटिकी ॥ The

word बन्ध means a leathern bellows by which the iron is heated, or a leathern bag in which grain &c., is carried.

1 बन्धा, 2 भरद, 3 भरज (भारज), 4 वीर्यभार, 5 वीर्यभार, 6 अंसभार, 7 अंसेभार. ॥

विभाषा विवधवीवधात् ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, विवध, वीवधात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हरतीत्येव । विवधवीवधघटाभ्यां तृतीयासमर्थाभ्यां विभाषा इत् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

17. The affix घृन् comes optionally in the sense of 'he conveys', after the words 'vivadha', and 'vivadha', being in the third case in construction.

In the alternative, the general affix इक् will apply. Thus विवधेन हरति = विवधिकः f. विवधिकी ; So also वीवधिकः f. वीवधिकी ॥ When the affix is इक्, we have वैवधिकः in both cases, the feminine being वैवधिकी ॥

The word विवध and वीवध 'are synonyms both meaning 'a piece of wood carried on the shoulders to carry loads, on the road.' विवधिकः meaning 'a carrier of loads, a pedler'. The real sūtra is विभाषा विवधात्, the Kāsikā has added वीवध from a Vārtika.

अण्कुटिलिकायाः ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अण्, कुटिलिकायाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हरतीत्येव । कुटिलिकाघट्टात् तृतीयासमर्थात् प्रत्ययो भवति हरतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ॥

18. The affix अण् comes, in the sense of 'he conveys', after the word कुटिलिका in the third case in construction.

Thus कुटिलिकया हरति मृगो व्याध—कौटिलिको मृगः 'a deer which carries (or entices away) into crooked ways' or 'a hunter who hunts by coming stealthily on his prey'. कुटिलिकया हरति अट्टारात्—कौटिलिकः कर्मरः 'a blacksmith,—who carries burning coals on an iron forge'.

The word कुटिलिका means 'crooked motion, and the iron-forge of the blacksmiths'.

निर्वृत्ते अक्षघृतादिभ्यः ॥ १९ ॥ निर्वृत्ते, अक्ष, घृतादिभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेत्येव । अक्षघृतादिभ्यस्तृतीयासमर्थेभ्यो निर्वृत्तइत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे इक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

19. The affix ठक् comes, in the sense of 'completed thereby' after the words 'akshadyūta &c', being in the third case in construction.

Thus अक्षघृतेन निर्वृत्तम्—अक्षघृतिकं वेरम् 'enmity—which was growing but has been completed by gambling'. So आनुप्रहतिकम् ॥

1 अक्षघृत्, 2 आनुप्रहत ('प्रहत'), 3 अक्षप्रहत ('प्रहत'), 4 अक्षप्रहत*, 5 पादस्तेवन, 6 कण्टकमर्दन, 7 गतानुगत*, 8 गतागत, 9 आतोपघात, 10 अनुगत. ॥

त्रेर्मस्त्रित्वम् ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ त्रेः, मप्, नित्यम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निर्वृत्तस्यैव, वृत्तः त्रिभिरित्येवं विद्यमानो गृह्यते । वृत्तान्तामित्येवं मप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

20. The affix मप् comes always after the words ending in the affix त्रि, the in sense of 'completed thereby',

The त्रि here refers to the affix 'ktri' (III. 3. 88). Thus the root वृप् takes त्रि and forms वृत्ति, which is not a complete word, but must take the augment मप्, to form a full word. Thus वप् + क्ति + मप् = वृत्तिमप् 'what is completed by being cooked'. So from वृप् we have वप् + क्ति + मप् = वृत्तिमप् (VI. 1. 15): from वृक् we have वृत्तिमप् ॥

The word नित्य in the sūtra indicates that the affix त्रि never comes singly by itself, all words ending in 'Ktri' are invariably followed by मप् also. In fact मप् may be regarded as an invariable augment of the affix 'Ktri'.

Vart.:—After a word ending in an affix denoting 'condition', the affix इमप् is added. Thus वक्त्रेण निर्बन्ध = वाक्त्रिमप् (वप् + क्ति III. 3. 18 + इमप्), so व्यागिमप्, सेकिमप्, कुट्टिमप् ॥

अपमित्ययाचिताभ्यां कक्कनौ ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपमित्य-याचिताभ्याम्, कक्-कनौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निर्वृत्तस्यैव । अपमित्ययाचितशब्दाभ्यां ययासंख्ये कक् कन् इत्येतौ प्रत्ययो भवतौ, निर्वृत्तस्यैव तस्मिन्नर्थे ॥

21. The affixes 'kak' and 'kan' come respectively after the words 'apamitya' and 'yâchita', when the sense is that of completion.

Thus आपमित्यकम् 'debt', and याचितकम् 'a thing begged for use'. The word अपमित्य is formed from the root मा with the prefix अप, and the suffix क्त्वा (III. 4. 19). The क्त्वा is changed to खप्, and ह substituted for आ (VI. 4. 70). The word is an Indeclinable, and therefore the anuvritti of तेन does not run here.

संसृष्टे ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ संसृष्टे, ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेत्येव । वृत्तीयासमर्थसंसृष्टइत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

22. The affix ठक् comes, after a word in the third case in construction, when the sense is 'mixed therewith.'

The word तेन is understood here. The word संसृष्ट means unification, mixing &c. Thus दध्ना संसृष्ट = दाधिकम् 'smeared with curds.' गार्हपत्यिकम्, शार्ङ्गवेदिकम्, वैष्णविकम् ॥ The word 'sanskṛtam' (IV. 4. 3) and 'sansṛṣṭam' should be distinguished. The former refers to a case where by the combination of two things, a something better is produced; no such idea of bettering is to be found in संसृष्ट ॥

चूर्णादिनिः ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ चूर्णात्, इनिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चूर्णचम्पादिनिः प्रत्ययो भवति संसृष्टे । इकोपवाहः ॥

23. The affix इनि comes after the word 'chūrna' when the sense is 'mixed therewith.'

This debars इक् ॥ Thus चूर्णैः संसृष्टा = चूर्णिनो ऽ दृषाः 'cakes sprinkled with powder.' चूर्णिनो धानाः ॥

लवणाल्लुक् ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ लवणात्, लुक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संसृष्टइत्यनेनोत्पन्नस्य इको लवणचम्पात्लुक् भवति ॥

24. The affix लुक् meaning 'mixed therewith,' is elided by luk, after the word lavana.'

Thus लवणेन संसृष्टः = लवणः 'mixed with salt' as लवणः दूषः 'soup mixed with salt.' So लवणं द्राक्, लवणा दधनूः (I. 1. 51). The लुक् elision takes place when the word लवण is used as a noun, and not as an adjective.

मुद्गादण् ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ मुद्गात्, अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मुद्गस्यारण्यं प्रत्ययो भवति संसृष्टइत्येतस्मिन्विषये । इकोपवाहः ॥

25. The affix अण् comes after the word 'mudga,' when the sense is 'mixed therewith.'

This debars इक् ॥ Thus नौद्रं भोरनः 'rice mixed with mudga-pulse.' नौद्रो यवाणूः ॥

व्यञ्जनैरुपसिके ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ व्यञ्जनैः, उपसिके (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेत्येव । व्यञ्जनवाचिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यस्तृतीयासमर्थेभ्य उपसिकइत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे इक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

26. The affix ठक् comes, after a word denoting a condiment, being in the third case in construction, when the sense is 'sprinkled therewith.'

Thus दद्या उपसिकं = द्राधिकम् 'sprinkled with curd,' सौपिकम्, क्षारिकम् ॥ Why do we say 'denoting a condiment'? Observe इरुकोनोपसिकं भोरनः ॥

भोजः सहोऽम्भसा वर्तते ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ भोजः, सहः, अम्भसा-वर्तते (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भोजस् सहस् अम्भस् इत्येतेभ्यस्तृतीयासमर्थेभ्यो वर्ततइत्यर्थे इक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

27. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'it exists,' after the words 'ojas,' 'sahas,' and 'ambhas' being in the third case in construction.

Thus भोजसा वर्तते = भोजसिकः दूरः 'a hero' lit. possessed with energy. So also :—साहसिकः 'a thief,' आम्भसिकः 'a fish.'

तत्प्रत्ययपूर्वमीपलोमकूलम् ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्, प्रति-अनु-पूर्वम्, ईप-लोम-
कूलम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदिति द्वितीया समर्थविभक्तिः । प्रति अनु इत्येवपूर्वम् ईपलोमकूलशब्देभ्यो द्वितीयासमर्थेभ्यो व-
र्त्तत इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ङक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

28. The affix ङक् comes, in the sense of 'it exists,' after 'īpa,' 'loma,' and 'kūla,' preceded by 'anu' and 'prati,' the word being in the second case in construction.

The word तत् shows that the words must be in the second case in construction. The verb वर्त्तते is intransitive, how can it take an object, and how can it be in construction with an objective case? The words in the accusative after the verb वर्त्तते are not its objects, but are used as adverbs qualifying the sense of the verb, and adverbs are always put in the accusative case. Thus प्रतीपि वर्त्तते = प्रातीपिकः (प्रतिगता आपो ऽस्मिन्, the आ changed to ई V. 4. 74 and VI. 3. 97) retrograde i. e. 'which is unfavourable.' So आन्वीपिकः 'favorable.' प्रतिलोमिकः 'inverse' आनुलोमिकः 'direct.' पतिकूलिकः, आनुकूलिकः The two words प्रातीपिक and आन्वीपिक mean 'unfavourable' and 'favourable' respectively.

परिमुखं च ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ परिमुखम्, च (ङक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिमुखशब्दाद् द्वितीयासमर्थवर्त्तत इत्यस्मिन्नर्थे ङक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

29. The affix ङक् comes in the sense of 'it exists,' after the word 'parimukha,' being in the second case in construction.

Thus परिमुखं वर्त्तते = परिमुखिकः 'being before the face,' 'being near or present'.

The word च in the sūtra implies that the affix applies to other words also not mentioned. As परिषादिवकः ॥ The word परिमुख is an Avyayibhāva compound (II. 1. 12). If परि has the force of exclusion (I. 4. 88), then परिमुखिकः will mean 'a servant who always avoids the face of his master स्वामिनो मुखं वर्जयित्वा चः सेवको वर्त्तते,' and if परि means 'all round,' then the word will mean "a servant who is always in the presence of his master—यतः स्वामिनो मुखं ततस्ततो वर्त्तते" ॥

प्रयच्छति गर्ह्यम् ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रयच्छति, गर्ह्यम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदिति द्वितीयासमर्थव्ययच्छतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ङक् प्रत्ययो भवति, यत्तद्द्वितीयासमर्थं गर्ह्यं चे-
नङ्गवति ॥

वा० ॥ वृद्धेर्द्विप्रविभावो ङक् ॥

30. The affix ङक् comes after a word in the second case in construction, when the sense is 'he gives', the motive being mean.

Thus द्विगुणं प्रवृत्ति = द्विगुणिकः 'a usurer who gives for the sake of double' i. e. who charges cent per cent interest. The word द्विगुण means द्विगुणार्थ 'for the sake of double'. Similarly वेगुणिकः ॥

Vart.—The word वृद्धि is changed to वृधुवि before this affix. As, वृद्धिं प्रवृत्ति = वार्धुविकः 'a usurer' 'who gives for the sake of increase' Or the word वृधुवि may be taken as a separate word synonymous with वृद्धि ॥

Why do we say गर्ह्यन् 'with a mean motive? Observe द्विगुणं प्रवृत्ति अयमर्थः 'the debtor gives double'.

कुसीददशैकादशात् छन्द्यौ ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुसीद, दश, एकादशात्, छन्-
छ्यौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रवृत्ति गार्हमित्येव । कुसीद वृद्धि, स्तर्ये इत्यं कुसीदन् । एकारस्यार्थं दश, दशैकारस्यनेनो-
च्यते । कुसीददशैकारस्यार्थां यथासंख्यं छन् छन् इत्येतौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः ॥

31. The affixes छन् and छ्यच् come respectively after the words 'kusīda' and 'dasaikādaśa', when the sense is 'he gives for a mean motive'.

The word कुसीद means 'interest'. The lending of ten (दश) on a condition that the borrower will pay eleven (एकादश) after a month is called दशैकारस्य ॥ This sūtra debars छक् ॥ The difference between the two affixes छन् and छ्यच् is in the accent (VI. 1. 197 and 163). Thus कुसीद + छन् = कुसीदिकः fem. कुसीदिकी (VI. 1. 41). So दशैकारस्यिकः fem. दशैकी ॥

उच्छति ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ उच्छति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदिति द्वितीयासमर्थान् उच्छसीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे छक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

32. The affix छक् comes, after a word in the second case in construction, when the sense is 'who gleans that'.

Thus वरणाच्छति = वारणिकः 'who picks up jujubes'. दधानाच्छति, काणिकः ॥ To pick up every grain (कण) fallen on the ground is called वरणाच्छ ॥

रक्षति ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ रक्षति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदिति द्वितीयासमर्थान् रक्षसीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे छक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

33. The affix छक् comes after a word in the second case in construction, when the sense is 'he aids or protects that'.

Thus समाजं रक्षति = सामाजिकः 'a spectator', lit. 'who aids an assembly by his presence'. So also सामिवेशिकः ॥

शब्दद्वर्तुं करोति ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ शब्द-द्वर्तुम्, करोति ॥

श्रुतिः ॥ तद्विति द्वितीयासमर्थाभ्यां शब्दद्वर्तुंशब्दाभ्यां करोतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे डक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

34. The affix डक् comes after the words 'Sabda' and 'dardura', being in the second case in construction, when the sense is "who makes a sound or a croaking".

Thus शब्दं करोति = शाब्दिकः 'who makes a sound' i. e. a Grammarian. So शर्शुरिकः 'who makes a croaking noise like a frog (dardura)' i. e. a potter.

पक्षिमत्स्यमृगान्हन्ति ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ पक्षि, मत्स्य, मृगान्, हन्ति (डक्) ॥

श्रुतिः ॥ तद्वित्येव । पक्ष्यादिभ्यो द्वितीयासमर्थेभ्यो हन्तीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे डक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

35. The affix डक् comes after the words in the second case in construction denoting birds, fishes, or wild beasts, when the sense is 'who kills that'.

Thus पक्षिणो हन्ति = पक्षिकः 'a bird-killer'. The affix applies not only to the word-forms पक्षि &c, but to words denoting birds &c. (See I. 1. 68). Therefore, we have forms शाकुनिकः, मायूरिकः, तैक्षिरिकः ॥ So also with मत्स्य, as, नास्त्यिकः, भैनिकः, सागरिकः, शाकुलिकः ॥ So also with मृग, as, मार्गिकः, शारिपिकः, सौकरिकः, साष्टिकः ॥

परिपन्थञ्च तिष्ठति ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ परिपन्थम्, च, तिष्ठति ॥

श्रुतिः ॥ परिपन्थशब्दात्तद्विति द्वितीयासमर्थान्तिष्ठतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे डक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

36. The affix डक् comes also in the sense of "who stays", after the word 'paripantham', the word being in the second case in construction,

Thus परिपन्थं तिष्ठति = पारिपन्थिकः यः पन्थानं वर्जयित्वा तिष्ठति, यो वा पन्थानं व्याप्नोति तिष्ठति 'a thief' lit. "who stays at roads, a high way man". The च in the sūtra indicates that the sense of हन्ति 'who kills' of the last, is to be connected with this sūtra by the conjunction 'and'. Thus परिपन्थं हन्ति = पारिपन्थिकः ॥

The phrase 'being in the second case in construction' is understood in this sūtra, why has then the word परिपन्थश्च been shown in the second case in the sūtra, for it is a mere superfluity? No, it shows the secular form of the word. The word परिपन्थ is synonymous with परिपथ, the latter, however, having other senses also.

माथोत्तरपदपदव्यनुपदं धावति ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ माथ-उत्तरपद, पदवी, अनुप-दम्, धावति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नायघञोऽनपराध्यातिपदिकात्पराधी अनुपद इत्येताभ्यां च भावतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे डक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

37. The affix डक् comes, in the sense of “who runs”, after a word having नाय as its second term, and after the words ‘padaṁ’ and ‘anupada’.

Thus इण्डनायं भावति—इण्डनायिकः ‘who runs on a high way’. So also घोष्कनायिकः ॥ Similarly पारयिकः, आनुपयिकः ॥ The word नाय means ‘a way’.

आक्रन्दार्द्राड् ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ आक्रन्दात्, डङ्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आक्रन्दन्त्येतस्मिन्नित्याक्रन्दो वृधः । अथवा ऽऽक्रयतइत्याक्रन्द, आर्तावनमुच्यते । विद्योवाभावाद् इत्येवमपि ग्रहणम् । आक्रन्दघञाच्चास्ति द्वितीयासनर्थोऽप्रापरीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे डङ् प्रत्ययो भवति, चकाराद् डङ् ॥

38. The affix डङ् as well as डक् comes after the word ‘ākrandā’, being in the second case in construction, in the sense of ‘who runs’.

The word आक्रन्द means ‘a place where persons weep’ e. g. a battle-field. It also means ‘weeping’ ‘invoking’ &c. The difference between डक् and डङ् is in the accent. Thus आक्रन्दं भावति—आक्रन्दिकः or आक्रनिकः, i. आक्रनिकी ‘a person who runs to a place where cries of distress are heard’.

पदोत्तरपदं गृह्णाति ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पद, उत्तरपदम्, गृह्णाति (डक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पदघञ उत्तरपदं यस्य तस्मात्पदोत्तरपदघञात् तस्मिन् द्वितीयासनर्थोऽगृह्णातीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे डङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

39. The affix डक् comes in the sense of ‘who takes’, after a word having ‘pada’ as its second member, the word being in the second case in construction.

Thus पूर्वपदं गृह्णाति—पूर्वपदिकः, so also औत्तरपदिकः ॥ The word उत्तरपद is used in order to prevent the application of the rule when पद is preceded by the affix च ॥

प्रतिकण्ठार्थललामं च ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रतिकण्ठ, अर्थ, ललामम्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रतिकण्ठार्थललामघञेभ्यस्तस्मिन् द्वितीयासनर्थेभ्यो गृह्णातीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे डङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

40. The affix डङ् comes in the sense of ‘who takes’ after the words ‘pratikantha’, ‘artha’, and ‘lalāma’ being in the second-case in construction.

Thus प्रतिकण्ठं गृह्णाति—प्रतिकण्ठिकः ॥ So also आर्थिकः, ललामिकः ॥ The word प्रतिकण्ठ here is an Avyayī-bhāva meaning कण्ठं कण्ठं प्रति, and, not प्रतिगणः कण्ठं = प्रतिकण्ठ, for to the latter no affix is added.

धर्मं चरति ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ धर्मम्-चरति (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धर्मशब्दात्तद्विहितासमर्थाच्चरतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

धार्मिकम् ॥ अधर्माद्येति वक्तव्यम् ॥

41. The affix ठक् comes after the word 'dharma', being in the second case in construction, in the sense of 'who practices that'.

Thus धर्मम् चरति = धार्मिकः "religious". So also अधर्माद्येति = अधर्माद्येति = "irreligious, undutiful", by a Vārtika.

प्रतिपथमेति ठञ् ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रतिपथं, पति, ठन्-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रतिपथशब्दात् द्वितीयासमर्थाच् एतीत्यस्मिन्नर्थे ठन् प्रत्ययो भवति, अकारादठक् च ॥

42. The affix ठन् as well as ठक् comes after the word 'prati-patham', in the second-case in construction, in the sense of 'who goes'.

Thus प्रतिपथमेति = प्रतिपथिकः or प्रातिपथिकः "who goes along the road" the ठक् causes Vṛddhi (VII. 2. 118) whilst ठन् does not.

समवायान् समवैति ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ समवायान्, समवैति (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समवायशब्दाच्च शब्देभ्यस्तद्विहितासमर्थेभ्यः समवैतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

43. The affix ठक् comes after words in the second case in construction, denoting combination, in the sense of 'who assembles there'.

The word समवाय means 'combination, collection &c'. The word समवायान् is in the plural number in the sūtra, indicating that the svarupa-vidhi (I. 1. 69) does not apply; the affix being applied not only to the word-form समवाय but to its synonyms also. समवैति means coming together. Thus समवायान् समवैति = सामवायिकः 'who assembles in an assembly'. So also सामाजिकः, साधु-द्विकः, सान्निवेशिकः ॥

परिषदो ण्यः ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ परिषद्, ण्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिषदो ण्यः प्रत्ययो भवति समवायान्समवैतीत्येतस्मिन्निषये । ठकोपवादः ॥

44. The affix ण्य comes after the word 'parishad' in the sense of 'who assembles there',

This debars ठक् ॥ Thus परिषद् समवैति = परिषद्यः 'one present in a council, an assessor, a councillor'.

सेनाया वा ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सेनायाः, वा (ण्यः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सेनाशब्दाद् वा ण्यः प्रत्ययो भवति समवायान्समवैतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठकोपवादः ॥

45. The affix **ञ्य** comes optionally in the sense of 'who assembles there,' after the word **senā**.

This debars **इक्** which comes in the alternative. Thus **सेनां समवेति** = **सेन्यः** or **सेनिकः** 'a soldier, a member of an army'.

संज्ञायां ललाटकुक्कुट्यौ पश्यति ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायाम्, ललाट, कुक्कुट्यौ पश्यति (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ललाटकुक्कुटीयज्ञाभ्यां तदिति द्वितीयासमर्थाभ्यां पश्यतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे **ठक्** प्रत्ययो भवति संज्ञायां विषये ॥

46. The affix **ठक्** comes in the sense of 'who sees that,' after the words '**lalāṭa**' and '**kukkuṭi**', in second case in construction, the whole word being a Name.

Thus **ललाटे पश्यति** = **ललाटिकः** 'a non-attentive servant' lit. 'who always looks at the fore-head of his master from a distance, keeps himself aloof, does not come near to perform any work.' So also **कौक्कुटिकः** 'a religious mendicant, a Bhikshu.' The space of ground over which a hen can fly without falling, is to be understood here by the word **कुक्कुटी** ॥ In other words, a small space of ground, for hens cannot sustain their flight for a long distance. Therefore, owing to the smallness of space, the mendicant walks looking down over the ground, and hence he is called **कौक्कुटिकः** ॥ The word also means 'a hypocrite with down-cast eyes.'

तस्य धर्मम् ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्य, धर्म्यं (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्येति षष्ठीसमर्थाद् धर्म्यमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे **ठक्** प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

47. The affix **ठक्** comes after a word in the sixth case in construction, in the sense of 'its usage'.

The word **धर्म्यं** means 'usual,' 'relating to custom'. The word **तस्य** shows the case of the word. Thus **शुल्कशालाया धर्म्यं** = **शौल्कशालिकः** 'the custom-house laws or usages.' So also **भाकरिकम्, आपणिकम्, गौत्मिकम् ॥**

अण् महिष्यादिभ्यः ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अण्-महिष्यादिभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ महिषीत्येवमादिभ्यो ऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति तस्य धर्म्यमित्येतस्मिन्विषये । ङकोपचारः ॥

48. The affix **अण्** comes in the sense of 'its law,' after the word '**mahishī**' &c.

This debars **ṭhak**. Thus **महिष्या धर्म्यं** = **माहिषम्** 'the usages of queens.' So **म्राजावतम् ॥**

1 महिषी, 3 म्राजावति°, 3 म्राजावती, 4 मलेपिका, 5 विलेपिका, 6 अनुलेपिका, 7 पुरोहित, 8 मणिपाली, 9 अनुचारक (अनुचारक), 10 होतृ, 11 वज्रनाग.

श्रुतो ऽञ् ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्रुतः, अञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋकारान्ताध्यातिपदिकादम् प्रत्ययो भवति तस्य धर्म्यमित्येतस्मिन् विषये । उक्तोपवादः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ नृपद्योतिवक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ विशसितुर्दिलोपम् ॥ वा० ॥ विभाजयितुर्दिलोपम् ॥

49. The affix अञ् comes in the sense of 'its law,' after a nominal-stem ending in श्रु ॥

This debars उक् ॥ Thus पोटु धर्म्यम् = पौत्रम् 'the office of a Potri.' औमात्रम् 'the office or duties of an Udgâtri.' Padamanjarî gives the example of होतु धर्म्यम् under this sūtra, though the word होतु occurs in the list given in the preceding sūtra. The Hotri of the preceding sūtra means a Ritvik, here it means an invoker.

Vart :—So also after the word नरः As नरस्य धर्म्या = नारी ॥

Vart :—So also after the word विशसितु, the इद् affix being elided. Thus विशसितु + अञ् = वैशसम् ॥

Vart :—So also after the word विभाजयितु, its णि affix also being elided. Thus विभाजयितु + अञ् = वैभाजिसम् ॥

अवक्रयः ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ अव क्रयः (उक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्येत्येव । षष्ठीसमर्थादवक्रय इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे उक् प्रत्ययो भवति । अवक्रीणीत ऽनेनेत्यवक्रयः ॥

50. The affix उक् comes in the sense of 'its tax,' after a word in the sixth case in construction.

The word अवक्रय means 'Government-tax,' 'price,' 'wages,' 'rent' &c, coming from the root अवक्री 'to purchase.' Thus गुल्कशालाया अवक्रयः = शौल्कशालिकः. So also आपणिकः, गौत्मिकः, आकारिकः ॥

Are not धर्म्य (IV. 4. 47) and अवक्रय the same? No. Dharmya is a legal due, and religious ; while an 'avakraya' may be a tax exacted from a people by oppression, and so transgressing dharma.

तदस्य पण्यम् ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ तद्, अस्य, पण्यम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदिति प्रथमासमर्थादस्योति षष्ठ्यर्थे उक् प्रत्ययो भवति यच्चत्यथमासमर्थे पण्यं चेत्तद्वति ॥

51. The affix उक् comes in the sense of 'this is whose saleable commodity,' after a word in the first case in construction denoting the thing to be sold.

Thus अपूपः पण्यं अस्य = आपूपिकः 'a cake-vendor.' So also चाण्डूलिकः, मोरकिकः &c.

लवणादुक् ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ लवणात्, उक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लवणशब्दादुक् प्रत्ययो भवति तदस्य पण्यमित्येतस्मिन् विषये । उक्तोपवादः ॥

52. The affix डक् comes, in the sense of 'this is whose saleable commodity,' after the word 'lavana.'

This debars डक्, the difference being in accent. Thus लवणं पण्यमस्य-
लवणिकः 'a salt-vendor.'

किशरादिभ्यः छन् ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ किशरादिभ्यः, छन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ किशर इत्येवमादिभ्यः छन् प्रत्ययो भवति तदस्य पण्यमित्येतस्मिन्निषदे । ङकोपचारः ॥

53. The affix छन् comes in the sense of 'this is whose saleable commodity,' after the words 'kiśara' &c.

This debars डक् ॥ The word किशर &c all denote perfumes. Thus
किशराः पण्यमस्य-किशरिकः । किशरिकी (IV. 1 41), नररिकः । नररिकी ॥

1 किशर (किशर), 2 नरर, 3 नलर, 4 स्थागल*, 5 तगर, 6 गुग्गुलु, 7 उषीर, 8 हरिद्रा, 9 ह-
रिद्रु*, 10 पर्णी*, 11 सुमङ्गल, 12 हरिद्रावणी.

शालालुनोऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ शालालुनः, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शालालुघटशरन्यतरस्यां छन् प्रत्ययो भवति तदस्य पण्यमित्येतस्मिन्निषदे । ङकोपचारः । पक्षेऽपि
भवति ॥

54. The affix छन् comes optionally, in the sense of 'this is whose saleable commodity' 'after the word 'salāluṇ'.

This debars डक् which comes in the alternative. शालालु is a kind of
sweet scent. Thus शालालु पण्यमस्य-शालालुकः । शालालुकी ॥ In the alternative
with डक्, शालालुक्; । शालालुकी ॥

शिल्पम् ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ शिल्पम् (डक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्विति प्रथमासमर्थादस्येति षष्ठ्यर्थे डक् प्रत्ययो भवति यत्तत्प्रथमासमर्थे शिल्पं चेत्तद्वति ॥

55. The affix डक् comes in the sense of 'this is whose Art,' after a word denoting Art, in the first case in
construction.

Thus मृदङ्गवादनं शिल्पमस्य-मार्दङ्गिकः "a drummer", "an expert in playing
on mridanga drum". So also पाणविकः, वैजिकः ॥

मद्दुकदृक्षरौद्रादन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ मद्दुक, दृक्षरौद्रात्, अण्, अन्यत-
रस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मद्दुकदृक्षरौद्रादभ्यामन्यतरस्यामण् प्रत्ययो भवति तदस्य शिल्पमित्येतस्मिन्निषदे । ङकोपचारः ॥

56. The affix अण् comes optionally in the sense of 'this is whose Art', after the words 'madḍuka', and
'jharjharā'.

This debars डक् which comes in the alternative. Thus मद्दुकवादनं शिल्प-
मस्य-मद्दुकः or मद्दुकिः, so दृक्षरौद्रः and दृक्षरौद्रिकः ॥

प्रहरणम् ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रहरणम् (ठक्)

वृत्तिः ॥ तदस्येत्येव । तदिति प्रथमासमर्थेत्येति षष्ठ्यर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति यत्तत्प्रथमासमर्थे प्रहरणं चेन्नरुवति ॥

57. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'this is whose weapon', after a word denoting 'a weapon', and being in the 1st case in construction.

Thus मतिः प्रहरणमस्य = भासिकः 'a swordsman'. So मासिकः, चासिकः, धानुष्कः ॥

परम्बधाद्ठक् च ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ परम्बधात्, ठक्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परम्बधशब्दात् ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति, चकारात् ठक् ॥

58. The affix ठक् as well as ठक् comes in the sense of "this is whose weapon", after the word परम्बध ॥

This affix ठक् is added by च, the difference being in accent. Thus पारद्वधिकः or पारद्वधिकः ॥ परम्बध means 'an axe'.

शक्तियष्ट्योरीकक् ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ शक्ति-यष्ट्योः, ईकक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शक्तियष्टिशब्दाभ्यामीकक् प्रत्ययो भवति तदस्य प्रहरणमित्येतस्मिन्निषये । ठक्प्रकारः ॥

59. The affix ईकक् comes in the sense of "this is whose weapon", after the words 'sakti' and 'yashā'.

This debars ठक् ॥ Thus शक्तिः प्रहरणमस्य = शास्त्रीकः, So also यात्रीकः ॥

अस्तिनास्तिदिष्टं मतिः ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ अस्तिनास्ति-दिष्टम्-मतिः (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदस्येत्येव । तदिति प्रथमासमर्थेभ्यो अस्ति नास्ति दिष्ट इत्येतेभ्यः शब्देभ्यो अत्येति षष्ठ्यर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति यत्तत्प्रथमासमर्थे मतिश्चेन्नरुवति ॥

60. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'this is whose belief', after the words 'asti', nasti and 'dishta'.

Thus अस्तिमतिरस्य = भास्तिकः 'who believes that It is' i. e. a here after. नास्तिकः 'whose belief is that there is no Here after', an athiest. दैष्टिकः 'whose belief is that it is fate', a fatalist, दिष्ट = दैव 'fate'.

The affix does not apply in the sense of belief in general, but to a particular sort of belief. Thus परलोकोऽस्ति इति यस्य मतिरस्ति स भास्तिकः, an Astika is he who believes that the Hereafter is. Contrary to him is a नास्तिकः who does not believe in a Hereafter. A person who believes what is demonstrated by proof, and nothing else, may also be called दैष्टिकः 'a positivist'. These various other senses are to be found from dictionary and general literature.

शीलम् ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ शीलम् (उक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्येत्येव । तदिति प्रथमासमर्थस्त्विति पठपर्यं उक् प्रत्ययो भवति वसत्ययमासमर्थं शीलं चे-
द्वति ॥

61. The affix उक् comes in the sense of 'whose habit is this', after a word in the first case in construction.

Thus अपूपभक्षणं शीलमस्य-आपूपिकः 'one whose habit is to eat cakes'. Similarly शाष्कुलिकः, मौक्षिकः ॥ The act of eating, and its habit are qualities understood in the sense of the affix.

छत्रादिभ्यो णः ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ छत्रादिभ्यः, णः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छत्र इत्येवमादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो णः प्रत्ययो भवति तस्य शीलमित्येतस्मिन्निषयोऽङ्कोपवादः ॥

62. The affix ण comes in the sense of 'whose habit is this', after the words 'chhatra &c'.

This debars उक् ॥ Thus छत्रं शीलमस्य-छात्रः 'a pupil', lit. 'whose habit is to cover (chhadan) the defects of his master'. The word स्या occurs in the list. It must always be prefixed by some upasarga; thus आस्या, संस्या, अवस्या &c.

According to Patanjali छात्र means 'a pupil, because, गुरुच्छत्रवत् गुरुणा शिष्य-
च्छत्रवत् छात्रः "a preceptor is like an Umbrella, the preceptor covers or protects the pupil like an umbrella". Or शिष्येण च गुरुच्छत्रवत् परिपाल्यः 'a pupil ought to maintain or protect his Preceptor, as an Umbrella'.

1 छत्र, 2 शिक्षा 3 प्ररोह (पुरोह), 4 स्या (आस्या, संस्या, अवस्या), 5 वृत्तता, 6 वृत्त, 7 तितिक्षा°, 8 उपस्थान, 9 कृषि (क्षुधि), 10 कर्मन्, 11 विम्बधा, 12 तपस्, 13 सत्य, 14 अनृत, 15 विशिष्टा°, 16 विशिका (शिवाका), 17 भक्ता°, 18 उपस्थान°, 19 पुरोडा (!)°, 20 विक्ता°, 21 कु-
क्ता°, 22 मन्त्र.

कर्माध्ययने वृत्तम् ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्म, अध्ययने, वृत्तम् (उक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्येत्येव । तदिति प्रथमासमर्थस्त्विति पठपर्यं उक् प्रत्ययो भवति वनध्ययमासमर्थं कर्म चे-
द्वचमध्ययनविषयं भवति ॥

63. The affix उक् comes, in the sense of "this is his act, occurring in study" after a word in the first case in construction, if such a word is an act (karma) which has occurred (vritam) in study (adhyayana).

Thus एकमन्यदध्ययने कर्मवृत्तमस्य-ऐकान्यिकः 'a pupil who commits one (एक) error (अन्यत्) in reading', &c. literal translation being something like "one errorist". Similarly द्वैयन्यिकः द्वैयन्यिकः &c. He whose, in recitation, at the time of examination, there is the occurrence of one mistake or false reading,

is called ऐकान्तिकः ॥ So who commits two mistakes is called द्वैबन्धिकः ॥ In short, in giving explanatory analysis of taddhita words like ऐकान्तिकः &c, the whole phrase अभ्ययने कर्मवृत्तम् must be employed.

बहुच्पूर्वपदादुच् ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुच्, पूर्व पदात्, उच् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बहुच् पूर्वपरं यस्य तस्माद् बहुच्पूर्वपदात्प्रातिपदिकाद् उच् प्रत्ययो भवति तदस्य कर्मभ्ययने वृत्तमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे । ठकोपवाहः ॥

64. The affix उच् comes, in the sense of 'this is whose act occurring in study', after a compound having a polysyllabic word as a prior member.

This debars उक् ॥ Thus:—द्वाद्यान्यानि कर्माभ्ययने वृत्तानि भवत्य-द्वाद्यान्यिकः 'an examinee who commits twelve mistakes in his reading'. So चतुर्द्यान्यिकः, षण्णुर्द्यान्यिकः ॥ The word अन्यत् in these sūtras means the 'error', especially in accent, i. e. he who makes an accent अनुदात्त which ought to be udatta, or vice versa.

हितं भक्षाः ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ हितम्-भक्षाः (उक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदस्येत्येव । तदिति प्रथमासमर्थोऽस्येति षष्ठ्यर्थे उक् प्रत्ययो भवति यत्तत्प्रथमासमर्थं हितं, यच्च भवति तच्च भक्षाः ॥

65. The affix उक् comes after a word expressing food, in the first case in construction, in the sense of "this is wholesome diet for whom".

The words तद् and अस्य (IV. 4. 51) are understood. The word हितं governs dative (II. 3. 13, Vart). But the sūtra is तदस्य हितं भक्षाः, the word अस्य being in the genitive case, how is this? Here अस्य should be changed to dative viz. तदस्मै हितं भक्षाः 'this for whom is wholesome diet'. The best way however, to remove this objection is to read sūtras 65, and 66 in this wise : 65 हितं भक्षाः तदस्मै and दीयते नियुक्तम् ॥ Thus अपूपंभक्षणं हितमस्मै-आपूपिकः 'He for whom cake is good food' i. e. who eats cakes with benefit, or who is fond of cakes. So also शाष्कुलिकः, मौरकिकः ॥ In analysing these taddhitas, such as आपूपिकः &c, the word हितं or its synonym, and a verb denoting eating should be employed.

तदस्मै दीयते नियुक्तम् ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ तद्-अस्मै-दीयते-नियुक्तम्-उक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदिति प्रथमासमर्थोऽस्मादाति चतुर्थ्यर्थे उक् प्रत्ययो भवति यत्तत्प्रथमासमर्थं, तद्येदीयते नियुक्तम् ॥

66. The affix उक् comes in the sense of "to whom this is to be given right fully", after a word expressing the thing to be given, in the first (tad) case in construction, the force of the affix being that of a dative (asmai).

The word शीयते नियुक्तं means नियोगेन i. e. अव्यभिचारिण शीयते 'to be given by appointment or rightfully'. Thus अये भोजनमस्मै नियुक्तं शीयते = आभ्यभोजनिकः 'a Brāhmaṇa always entitled to occupy the foremost seat at dinner'. So also आणूपिकः 'entitled to get cakes', आणुकुलिकः ॥ Some say that the word नियुक्तं means निवृत्तं 'always'. According to them आणूपिका would mean अपृषा नित्यमस्मै शीयन्ते 'to whom always cakes are given'.

आणामांसोदनाद्विठन् ॥ ६७ ॥ पदादि ॥ आणा-मांस-भोदनात्, विठन् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ आणामांसोदनशब्दार्थां विठन् प्रत्ययी भवति तदस्मै शीयते नियुक्तमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे । ङकोपवादः ।

67. The affix विठन् comes in the sense of 'to whom this is to be given rightfully', after the words आणा and मांसोदन ॥

This विठन् debars ङक् ॥ The इ of दि is for the sake of pronunciation, the ङ indicates that the feminine is formed by ङीप् (IV. 1. 15). Thus आणा नियुक्तमस्मै शीयते = आणिकः f. आणिकी 'who is entitled to get rice gruel'. So also मांसोदनिकः f. मांसोदनिकी ॥

The difference between ङक् and विठन् is in accent, the former having udatta on the final (VI. 1. 165), the latter on the initial (VI. 1. 197). The feminine of ङक् and विठन् will both be formed by ङीप् (IV. 1. 15). Now the affix ङम् resembles विठन् both in accent (VI. 1. 197) and in feminine (IV. 1. 15). Why was not ङम् used instead of विठन्, for it would have produced exactly the same forms? True, as regards the words आणा and मांसोदन the affix ङम् might have been employed instead of विठन् ॥ According to some, however, the affix विठन् applies to मांस and भोदन separately also. But ङम् cannot be applied to भोदन as it would cause Vṛiddhi (VII. 2. 117) which विठन् does not. Thus भोदन + विठन् = भोदनिकः, f. भोदनिकी ॥ With ङम् the form would have been भोदनिकः which is not wanted.

The word आणा is a Past Participle (क्त) of आ 'to cook.' The आ is not changed to ऋ as required by VI. 1. 27. This is an anomaly. The nisthā ण is changed to ण (VIII. 2. 43). The form आता is also found, as in VI. 1. 36, and the regular form is एतं = शीरस् (VI. 1. 27).

भक्तादन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ६८ ॥ पदाति ॥ भक्ताद्-अण्-अन्यतरस्याम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ भक्तशब्दाद् प्रत्ययो भवत्यन्यतरस्यां तदस्मै शीयते नियुक्तमित्येतस्मिन् विषये ङकोपवादः ॥

68. The affix अण् comes optionally after the word bhakta, in the sense of 'to whom this is to be given rightfully.'

This debars ङक् which comes in the alternative. Thus भक्तमस्मै शीयते नियुक्तं = भक्तः ॥ In the alternative भक्तिकः 'a regularly fed' i. e. a retainer.

तत्र नियुक्तः ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्र-नियुक्तः(ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्रेति सप्तमीसमर्थान्नियुक्त इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति । नियुक्तो अधिकृतो व्यापारित इत्यर्थः ॥

69. The affix ठक् comes, in the sense of 'appointed there,' after a word in the seventh case (tatra) in construction.

Thus शुल्कशालायां नियुक्तः = शौल्कशालिकः 'a superintendent of custom-house.' So also आकारिकः, भाषणिकः, गौलमिकः, सौवारिकः ॥ The word तत्रनियुक्त is a Tat-purusha compound formed by II. 1. 46. The word niyukta here has a different meaning from that in IV. 1. 60, hence its repetition here.

अगारान्ताड्ठन् ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ अगारान्तात्, ठन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अगारान्तात्प्रातिपदिकाद्ठन् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र नियुक्त इत्येतस्मिन्विषये । ठकोपचारः ॥

70. The affix ठन् comes in the sense of "appointed there," after a word ending with 'agāra.'

This debarbs ठक् । The difference is in accent and want of Vṛiddhi. Thus देवागारे नियुक्तः = देवागारिकः, कोष्ठागारिकः, भाण्डागारिकः ॥

अध्यायिन्यदेशकालात् ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अध्यायिनि-अदेशकालात् (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्रेत्येव । सप्तमीसमर्थान्देशवाचिनः प्रातिपदिकादकालवाचिनश्चाध्यायिन्यभिधेये ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

71. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of "who studies there," after a word in the 7th case in construction, denoting an improper place or time.

The word अदेशकाल means the time or place of study, which is prohibited by sacred institutes. अध्यायिन् means one who studies. Thus श्रमशानेऽधीते = श्मशानिकः 'who reads in a funeral ground.' चतुष्पाथिकः 'who studies where four roads meet.' So also चतुर्दश्यामधीते = चातुर्दशिकः, 'who reads on the 14th lunar day.' So also आनावास्थिकः ॥

Why do we say 'improper time and place?' Observe जुष्टेऽधीते, पूर्वाह्नेऽधीते ॥

कठिनान्तप्रस्तारसंस्थानेषु व्यवहरति ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कठिन-अन्त, प्रस्तार-संस्थानेषु, व्यवहरति (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्रेत्येव । कठिनशब्दान्तात्सप्तमीसमर्थान् प्रस्तारसंस्थानशब्दान्थां च ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति व्यवहरतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ॥

72. The affix ठक् comes, in the sense of "who transacts business there in," after compounds ending in 'kathina.

and after 'prastâra' and 'sansthâna,' being in seventh case in construction.

Thus बांशकडिने ज्वरहरणे - बांशकडिनिकः 'whose occupation is in a bamboo-thicket' or 'who does what is proper to be done in such a place' i.e. तस्मिन्नेषे वा क्रिया कथमुद्देशात् तां तथेवानुविष्टेति ॥ So also बांशकडिनिकः ॥ So also प्रास्तादिकः, सांस्थानिकः ॥

निकटे वसति ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ निकटे-वसति (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निकटप्रस्थासप्तमीसमर्थाद् वसतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

73. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'who dwells', after the locative word 'nikaṭa.'

This rule applies in forming epithets, denoting such persons, who are allowed under the Sacred Institutes, to dwell near human habitations. Thus आरण्यकाः are those ascetics who are ordained to dwell in forests, at least two miles away from human habitations. नैकटिकाः are those ascetics who are allowed by the rule of their Order to live near human habitations. Thus निकटे वसति - नैकटिकः 'an ascetic.'

आवसथात् छल् ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आवसथात्-छल् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वषेत्येव । आवसथप्रस्थासप्तमीसमर्थाद् वसतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे छल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

74. The affix छल् comes in the sense of 'who dwells there,' after the word 'âvasatha' in the seventh case in construction.

The ह् of छल् is for accent (VI. 1. 193), the छ् is for झिष् (IV. 1. 41). Thus आवसथे वसति - आवसथिकः 'who dwells in a house' i.e. a domestic person as opposed to an ascetic. The feminine will be आवसथिकी ॥ So far was the scope of छक् as ordained in IV. 4. 1. Henceforward other affixes will be ordained.

प्राग्घिताद्यत् ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राग्-हितात्, यत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्मै हितमिति वक्ष्यति । प्रागेतस्माद्वितसंघमनाद्यानि त् कर्षमनुक्रमिष्यामीत्यस्यवस्ते-
प्राधिकृतो वेदितव्यः ।

75. In each aphorism from this one forward to 'tasmai hitam' (V, 1. 5), the affix यत् bears rule.

Thus in the next sūtra तद्वहति रथयुगप्रासङ्गम् we must read the affix यत् ॥
रथः, युग्मः, प्रासङ्गः ॥

तद्वहति रथयुगप्रासङ्गम् ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ तद्-वहति-रथ-युग-प्रासङ्गम् (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्वहति द्वितीयासमर्थेनो रथयुगप्रासङ्गेनो वहतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यत्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

76. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'what bears it', after the words 'ratha', 'yuga', and 'prāsanga', being in the second case in construction.

Thus रथं वहति = रथः 'what bears a car' a carriage-horse. Similarly युग्यः 'a yoke-bearing ox', प्रासङ्ग्यः 'being trained in a break'. प्रासङ्ग is a piece of wood placed on the neck of colts, at the time of breaking. This rule applies to compounds ending with ratha, as, परमरथः ॥ See IV. 3. 121, 123 also. That which carries will be called 'carrier' or वोढु therefore एषस्य वोढु will get the affix यत् by IV. 2. 120. read with IV. 3. 121. Its special mention here indicates that the affix will come, even after Dvigu compounds and will not be elided by IV. 1. 88. Thus हो रथो वहति = हिरथः ॥ The tadanta-vidhi applies to this word as we have shown under 3. 121. The word युग्य has been already formed by the kṛit affix (III. 1. 121), that युग्म differs from the present, in accent when the word takes the negative particle, for that was by स्यप् and this is by यत्, and therefore by VI. 2. 156, अयुग्यम् will be finally acute when formed by यत् ॥ The word युगं must mean 'the portion of a car' for the application of this rule, and not a cycle of time &c. Therefore not here युगं वहति राजा कनि क्षापरे वा ॥

धुरो यद्दकौ ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ धुरः-यत्-दकौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्वहतीत्येव । धुर इत्येतस्माद् द्वितीयासमर्थ्याद्वहतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यत् दक् इत्येतौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः ॥

77. The affix यत् and दक् come in the sense of 'what bears it', after the word 'dhura' in the second case in construction,

Thus धुरं वहति = धुर्यः (formed by यत्) the lengthening ordained by VIII. 2. 77 is prevented by VII. 2. 79 because धुर is Bha-stem, or धौरेकः (formed by दक् VII. 1. 2) 'a beast of burden'. This sūtra might have stood as धुरो दक् च, for यत् would have been read into it from IV. 4. 75.

खः सर्वधुरात् ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ खः-सर्वधुरात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्वहतीत्येव । सर्वधुराच्छब्दाद् द्वितीयासमर्थ्याद्वहतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे खः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

78. The affix 'kha' comes in the sense of 'what bears it', after the word 'sarva-dhurâ', being in accusative construction.

Thus सर्वधुरां वहति = सर्वधुरीणः (VII. 1. 2). The affix ख applies to other compounds also ending in धुर, e. g. उत्तरधुरीणः, रक्षिणधुरीणः ॥ The word सर्वधुर is a compound of सर्वा + धुर (II. 1. 49), the samāsānta अ being added by V. 4. 74. The word धूः being feminine, the whole compound would be feminine by II. 4. 26. The word सर्वधुरात् in the sūtra should not be taken, therefore, as regulat-

ing the gender, for though it is in the masculine gender, the affix comes after the feminine word. In fact सर्वधुर in the sūtra should be taken as a nominal-stem or pratipadika equal to सर्वधुरा ॥

एकधुराल्लुक् च ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ एक-धुरात्-लुक् च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्वहतीत्येव । एकधुराद्यभ्यां द्वितीयासमर्थाद्वहतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे खः प्रत्ययो भवति तस्य लुग् भवति ॥

79. The affix 'kha' comes in the sense of 'what bears it', after the word 'eka-dhurā' in the second case in construction, and the affix is optionally elided also.

The elision is optional. Thus एकधुरां वहति = एकधुरीणः or एकधुरः ॥ The compounding is taddhitārtha (एकां धुरं वहति) to which is added the samāsānta अ, and then the affix ख ॥

शकटादण् ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ शकटात्-अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्वहतीत्येव । शकटाद्यभ्यां द्वितीयासमर्थाद्वहतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ण् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

80. The affix अण् comes in the sense of 'what bears it,' after the word शकट in the second case in construction.

Thus शकटं वहति = शाकटः 'an ox' i. e. what bears a car. This could be evolved by तस्येवम् अण् as शाकटस्य वोढ = शाकटः ॥ The specification indicates that tadanta-vidhi applies here, as द्वे शकटे वहति = द्वैशकटः, and the affix is not elided (IV. 1. 88).

हलसीरादठक् ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ हलसीरात्-ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्वहतीत्येव । हलसीराद्यभ्यां द्वितीयासमर्थाद्वहतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

81. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'what bears it,' after the words 'hala' and 'sira,' in the 2nd case in construction.

Thus हलं वहति = हालिकः a ploughman शेरिकः 'a plough ox.' The ठक् would have come by IV. 3. 124, the specification shows tadantavidhi and non-elision, as द्वैहालिकः, द्वैसीरिकः ॥

संज्ञायां जन्याः ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायाम्-जन्याः (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्वहतीत्येव । जनीयाभ्यां द्वितीयासमर्थाद्वहतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यत् प्रत्ययो भवति समुदायेन चेत्यंज्ञा गम्यते ॥

82. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'what bears it' after the word 'janī,' being in the 2nd case in construction, the whole word being a Name.

Thus अनी वहति = अन्वः 'a friend of a bridegroom,' fem. अन्वाः 'a brides-maid.' The word अनी means 'bride.' अन्वा lit. means 'what bears the bride' i. e. who carries the coy bride to the bride-groom at the time of play &c.

विध्यत्यधनुषा ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ विध्यति-अधनुषा (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदिति द्वितीयासमर्थाद् विद्यतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यत् प्रत्ययो भवति न यत्प्रत्ययः भवति ॥

83. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'what pierces it,' after a word in the accusative case in construction, provided that, it is not a bow, with which anything is pierced.

Thus पादौ विध्यन्ति = पैयाः (VI. 3. 53) चर्कराः, 'what pierce the feet' i. e. pebbles. ऊरव्याः कण्टकाः 'thorns' i. e. what pierce the thigh.

Why do we say "provided it is not a bow, अधनुषा"? Observe पादौ विध्यति धनुषा, no affix is added here. This exclusion of धनुष indicates that the act of piercing must be such as not to be done by a bow &c. Therefore the affix does not apply to cases like these चौरं विध्यति, शत्रुं विध्यति ॥

धनगणं लब्धा ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ धन-गणम्-लब्धा (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदित्येव । धनगणशब्दाभ्यां द्वितीयासमर्थाभ्यां लब्धेत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यत् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

84. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'who obtains it,' after the words 'dhana,' and 'gana,' being in the second case in construction.

Thus धनं लब्धा = धन्यः, so also गण्यः ॥ लब्ध is formed from लभ् by लृट्, hence it takes the accusative.

अन्नाणः ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्नात्-णः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्नशब्दात्तदिति द्वितीयासमर्थाद् अन्नेत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे णः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

85. The affix ण comes in the sense of 'who obtains it,' after the word अन्न, in the second case in construction.

Thus अन्नं लब्धा = आन्नः 'fed' 'who has obtained food.'

वशं गतः ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ वशम्-गतः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वशशब्दात्तदिति द्वितीयासमर्थाद् गत इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यत्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

36. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'gone,' after the word vasa, 'control' being in the second case in construction.

Thus वशगतः = वैश्यः 'come under control' i. e. subdued i. e. a dependant or servant. वशः = काम इच्छा तां प्राप्तः i. e. परेच्छानुगामी ॥

पदमस्मिन् दृश्यम् ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ पदम्-अस्मिन्-दृश्यम् (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निर्देशादेव मथना समर्थविभक्तिः । पदशब्दाव्ययनासन्नर्याद् दृश्यायोपाधिकारस्मिन्निवि सन्नम्बर्थे बलव्यवो भवति ॥

87. The affix पत् comes in the sense of 'in it is visible,' after the word 'pada,' being in the first case in construction.

Thus पद दृश्यमस्मिन्-पद्यः कर्म 'mud' lit. soft mud in which foot-mark can be seen at every step. It describes mud which is neither very hard nor very fluid, but having sufficient consistency to take the impression of the foot. So पद्याः पांसवः 'dust' for in it also the impression of the foot can be seen. It also means 'the foot-path.' The word दृश्यम् means दृश्यते इदम् this being the force of the kṛitya affix 'ya' in दृश् ॥

मूलमस्याबाहि ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ मूलम्-अस्य-आबाहि-(यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मूलशब्दाव्ययनासन्नर्यादाबाहिर्येवमुपाधिकारस्येति पठ्यर्थे बलव्यवो भवति । मूलमेपानाबाहि ॥

88. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'whose root is eradicated,' after the word 'mûla,' being in the first case in construction.

The word आबाहि from उद् 'to up root,' means 'uprooting,'-उत्पादनं ॥ मूलमेपानाबाहि-ईश्याः 'a kind of pulse' e. g. गुप्ता । मन्नाः ॥ These cereals cannot be harvested without uprooting the whole plant. According to Padamanjari the word should be आबाहि and not आबाहि, with a व and not ब ॥

संज्ञायां धेनुष्या ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायां-धेनुष्या-यत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धेनुष्येति निपात्यते संज्ञायां विषये । संज्ञापहणमभिधेयनियमार्थम् ॥

89. The word धेनुष्या is irregularly formed, being a Name.

This word is formed by adding डक् and व to धेनु ॥ It has udatta on the final. धेनुष्या means that cow (धेनु) which is given to a creditor in discharge of a debt or as a pledge to satisfy the debt from her milk. It is also called पीतकुम्भा ॥ As धेनुष्या भवते इति ॥

गृहपतिना संयुक्ते ञ्यः ॥ ९० ॥ पदानि ॥ गृहपतिना-संयुक्ते-ञ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निर्देशादेव तृतीया समर्थविभक्तिः । गृहपतिशब्दास्तृतीयासन्नर्यास्तस्युक्तास्त्वितस्मिन्नर्थे ञ्यः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

90. The affix ञ्य comes in the sense of 'joined with', after the word 'grahapati' in the third case in construction.

Thus गृहपतिना संयुक्तः = गार्हपत्यः 'the Gārhapatya Fire': i. e. a Fire particularly consecrated by the Householder. The word संज्ञायाम् of the last sūtra should be read into it, thus गार्हपत्यः means a particular Fire, and not every thing relating to a गृहपति ॥ The Fire in which husband (grihapati), together with or joined with his wife, performs sacrifice is called Gārhapatya. That sacrifice cannot be performed in Dakshināgni. Or that fire in which Gṛihapati hymns are recited is called Gārhapatya.

नौचयोधर्मविषमूलमूलसीतातुलाभ्यस्तार्यतुल्यप्राप्यवद्भानाम्यसमसमित सस्मितेषु ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ नौ-चयो-धर्म-विष-मूल-मूल-सीता-तुलाभ्यः-तार्य-तुल्य-प्राप्य-वद्भानाम्य-सम-समित-सस्मितेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नावादिभ्यो ऽऽभ्यः घर्मेभ्यो ऽऽत्वेव तार्यदिष्वर्थेषु वयासंख्यं यत् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

91. The affix यत् comes after the words नौ 'a boat', वयस् 'age', धर्म 'merit', विष 'poison', मूल 'a root', मूल 'capital', सीता 'a furrow', and तुला 'a balance', in the senses respectively, of "to be crossed", "like", "attainable", "to be put to death", "to be bent down", "equivalent to", "united with" and "equally measured".

The words in the above must be all in the Instrumental case in construction, for the sense of the affix shows that it should be so. Thus.

1. नावा तार्यम् = नाव्यम् 'water' 'a river', lit. what can be crossed by a boat.
2. वयसा तुल्यः = वयस्यः 'a friend', lit. one alike in age.
3. धर्मेण प्राप्यम् = धर्म्यम् 'what is attainable through dharma. Could not this form have been evolved by the next sūtra धर्मादनपेते (IV. 4. 92)? No, धर्म्यम् formed by that aphorism means 'what is consistent with dharma' 'what is just'. The present धर्म्य refers to the 'fruit', the other to the 'act'.
4. विषेण वद्धः = विट्यः 'who deserves to be put to death by poison'.
5. मूलेनानाम्यम् = मूल्यम् "price" lit. or to be overpowered or bent by the root". The word भानाम्य (which is formed from the root नम् 'to bow' by the affix प्यत् contrary to rule III. 1. 98 which required यत्), means भविष्यतीत्यर्थम् 'what ought to be overpowered': hence मूल्यम् means 'the price, worth, cost', because articles like 'cloth' &c are produced by the out-lay of stock or capital (मूल); 'price' being a thing which, because it is capital plus profit, is superior to capital, and thus by price or mūlyam, the capital or mūla is overpowered.
6. मूलेन समः = मूल्यः 'purchasable' lit. 'equivalent to capital' e. g. cloth पटः i. e. equivalent acquisition resulting from the employment of capital.

7. सीतया समितं = सीत्वं 'a field'. lit. 'measured out by furrows' according to Dr Ballantyne. The word समितं is equivalent to संगतं 'united with' according to Kāsika. सीत्वं therefore literally means 'a ploughed field' i. e. 'what is united with furrows'. The affix will apply also to words ending with सीता, e. g. परमसीत्वं, इजमसीत्वं, विसीत्वं ॥
8. तुलया समितं = तुल्यम् "equal" lit. 'meted by the balance'. समित् means समानं, सदृशं ॥

Note :—The fruits of good deeds, like happiness &c, which are attainable or *prāpya* through 'dharma', may be said also *dharmād anapetam* because an effect must have a cause. Hence arises the doubt as to what is the difference between this and the next sūtra. The 'anapetam' in the next sūtra means the fulfilling or following the Law established by the Shishthas, and has no reference to its fruits. Because the effect of dharma is to destroy dharma—i. e. the fruits in the shape of happiness &c lessen, and ultimately extinguish the dharma. Therefore, the fruit of dharma, which is to be taken in this sūtra, as referred to by the word *prāpya*, is diametrically opposed to the practising of dharma, referred to by the word *anapeta* of the next sūtra.

धर्मपथ्यर्थन्यायादनपेते ॥ ९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ धर्म-पथि-अर्थ-न्यायात्-अनपेते(यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निर्देशादेव पञ्चमी समर्थविभक्तिः । धर्मादिभ्यः पञ्चमीसमर्थेभ्योऽनपेतइत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे बल्यस्यो भवति ॥

92. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'not deviating therefrom', after the word 'dharma,' 'pathin,' 'artha' and 'nyāya' being in the ablative case in construction.

The ablative construction is inferred from its employment in the sūtra itself. Thus धर्मादनपेतं = धर्म्यम् 'just' 'not deviating from merit.' Similarly पथ्यम् ॥ शास्त्राद्यान् पथो यदनपेतं तन् पथ्यं, न तु तस्मादनपेतइति शब्दः 'wholesome diet,' अर्थ्यम् 'fit,' न्याय्यम् 'just, suitable.' The word संज्ञायाम् (IV 4. 89) governs this sūtra also, and hence the derivatives must have the above meanings.

छन्दसो निर्मिते ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसः-निर्मिते (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रत्ययार्थसामर्थ्यलभ्या समर्थविभक्तिः । छन्दः शब्दात्तृतीयासमर्थान्निर्मितइत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे बल्यस्यो भवति ॥

93. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'made,' after the word 'chhandas,' being in the Instrumental case in construction.

Thus छन्दसा निर्मितः = छन्दस्यः 'made at will.' The word छन्दस् is here synonymous with इच्छा 'will, wish, desire, fancy' &c, and does not mean 'metre or Veda.'

उरसो ऽण् च ॥ ९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ उरसः, अण्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उरः शब्दात्तृतीयासमर्थान्निर्मित इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति चकाराण्यच ॥

94. The affix अण् as well as यत् comes after 'uras', in the 3rd case in construction, in the sense of 'made.'

The यत् is drawn into the sūtra by the particle च ॥ उरसा निर्मितः—भीरस्व 'own son not adopted, lit. produced through the loins.' With यत् the form will be उरस्यः ॥ These words denote son, and not anything produced from the loin, because the word संज्ञायां (IV. 4. 89) governs this sūtra also.

हृदयस्य प्रियः ॥ ९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ हृदयस्य-प्रियः (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निर्देशादेव समर्थविभक्तिः । हृदयशब्दात्पृथीसमर्थान् प्रिय इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे बल्यत्ययो भवति ॥

95. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'loved,' after the word 'hridaya,' in the genitive case in construction.

The construction is shown by the aphorism itself. Thus हृदयस्य प्रियः—हृद्यः 'pleasant to the heart.' e. g. हृद्यो देवः, हृद्यं वनम् ॥ But we cannot say हृद्यः पुत्रः, the word संज्ञायां (IV. 4. 99) governs this sūtra also, and thus restricts the meaning of the word.

बन्धने चर्षौ ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ बन्धने-च-ऋचौ (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हृदयस्येत्येव । बन्धन इति प्रत्ययार्थः । तद्विशेषणमृषिमहणम् । बद्धते येन तद्बन्धनम् । हृदयशब्दात्पृथीसमर्थान्बन्धने कृपावभिधेये यत् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

96. The affix यत् comes in the sense of a bond, after the word 'hridaya,' being in the genitive construction, when the word denotes a 'hymn'.

The word हृदयस्य is understood in the sūtra. The word बन्धन gives the sense of the affix and is qualified by the word कृषि ॥ That by which a thing is bound is called बन्धन ॥ The word कृषि means here the Veda or the Vedic hymn. Thus हृदयस्य बन्धनमृषि—हृद्यः 'the Mantra by which the heart of another can be brought under one's control', i. e. a वशीकरण मन्त्रः ॥

मतजनहलात् करणजल्पकर्षेषु ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ मत-जन-हलात्, करण-जल्प-कर्षेषु (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मतादिभ्यस्त्रिभ्यः शब्देभ्यस्त्रिभ्येव करणादिपुंथेषु यथासंख्यं यत् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

97. The affix यत् comes after words 'mata', 'jana', and 'hala', in the senses respectively of 'means', 'gossip', and 'drawing', the words being in the sixth case in construction.

Thus मतस्य करणं=मैत्रः 'the means of acquiring knowledge'. जनस्य जल्पः=जैन्धः 'a rumour'. हलस्य कर्षः=हैन्धः 'ploughed'. So also दिहस्य, विहस्य, the tadanta vidhi applies रयसीताहलेभो यद्विधौ ॥

तत्र साधुः ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्र-साधुः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्रेति सप्तमीसमर्थात् साधुरित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यत्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

98. The affix यत् comes after a word in the locative construction, in the sense of 'excellent in regard thereto'.

Thus सामसु साधुः=सामन्त्र्यः (VI. 4. 168) conversant with the Sāma-Veda'. So also वैमन्त्र्यः, कर्मण्यः, धारन्त्र्यः &c. The word साधु here means प्रवीण, or योग्य 'expert' and 'fit', and does not mean उपकारक 'a benefactor or a good person'. When the sense is that of 'good', the sūtra तस्मै हितम् (V. 1. 5) will apply.

प्रतिजनादिभ्यः खड्ग ॥ ९९ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रतिजनादिभ्यः-खड्ग ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रतिजनादिभ्यः घञ्भ्यः खड्ग प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र साधुरित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे । यतोपवादः ॥

99. The affix खड्ग comes in the sense of 'excellent in regard thereto', after the word 'pratijana' &c.

This debars यत् ॥ Thus प्रतिजने साधुः=प्रतिजनीनः (VII. 1. 2) 'suitable against an adversary', or 'who is excellent for every person'. So also एवं युगीनः, सांयुगीनः ॥

1 प्रतिजन, 2 द्वयुग, 3 संयुग, 4 समयुग, 5 परयुग, 6 परकुल, 7 परस्यकुल, 8 अमुष्यकुल, 9 सर्वजन, 10 विश्वजन, 11 महाजन, 12 पञ्चजन. ॥

भक्ताण्यः ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ भक्तात्, णः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भक्तघञ्दाप् णः प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र साधुरित्येतस्मिन्निषये । यतोपवादः ॥

100. The affix ण comes in the sense of 'excellent with regard thereto', after the word 'bhakta'.

This debars यत्; thus, भक्ते साधुः=भक्ताः घालिः 'rice' lit. suitable or excellent for food. भक्ता स्तण्डुलाः ॥

परिषदोण्यः ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ परिषद्, ण्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिषद्घञ्दाप् ण्यः प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र साधुरित्येतस्मिन्निषये । यतोपवादः ॥

101. The affix ण्य comes in the sense of 'excellent with regard thereto', after the word 'parishada'.

This debars यत् ॥ Thus परिषदि साधुः=परिषद्यः ॥ The affix ण्य is also employed here. Thus परिषदि साधुः=परिषदः 'one versed in the affairs of a council' 'a minister'.

कथादिभ्यष्टक् ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कथादिभ्यः, ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कथादिभ्यः शब्देभ्यष्टक् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र साधुरित्येतस्मिन्निषदे । यतोपवादः ॥

102. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'excellent with regard thereto', after the words 'kathā' &c.

Thus कथार्या साधुः = काथिकः (कथा + ठक् = कथ् + ठक् VI. 4. 148 = काय् + इक् VII. 2. 116) 'a narrator of stories'. So वैकथिकः &c.

1 कथा, 2 विकथा, 3 विश्वकथा*, 4 संकथा*, 5 वितण्डा, 6 कुष्ठविद् (कुट विद्, कुटाचित्) 7 जनवाद, 8 अनेवाद, 9 जानोवाद* (!) 10 वृत्ति, 11 संमह (सम्मह), 12 गुण, 13 गण, 14 भायुर्वेदः ॥

गुडादिभ्यष्टक् ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ गुडादिभ्यः, ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गुडादिभ्यः शब्देभ्यष्टक् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र साधुरित्येतस्मिन्निषदे । यतोपवादः ॥

103. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'excellent with regard thereto', after the words 'gudā' &c.

This debars यत् ॥ Thus गुडे साधुः = गौडिकः 'sugar-cane' lit. 'excellent in making sugar'. So कौलमाषिकः 'a kind of pulse' lit. 'excellent for making gruel'. साक्तुकः 'barley' lit. suitable for making saktu.

1 गुड, 2 कुल्माष, 3 सक्तु, 4 अपूप, 5 मांसोदन, 6 इक्षु, 7 वेणु, 8 संभाम, 9 संघात, 10 संक्रान्, 11 संवाह, 12 प्रवास, 13 निवास, 14 उपवासः ॥ --

पथ्यतिथिवसतिस्वपतेर्दृश् ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ पथि-अतिथि-वसति-स्वपतेः दृश् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पथ्यादिभ्यः शब्देभ्यो दृश् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र साधुरित्येतस्मिन्निषदे । यतोपवादः ॥

104. The affix दृश् comes in the sense of 'excellent with regard thereto', after the words 'pathi', 'atithi', 'vasati' and 'svapati'.

This debars यत् ॥ Thus पथि साधुः = पाथेयम् (VII. 1. 2) 'provision for journey'. आतिथेयम् 'hospitality', वासतेर्दृश् 'habitable' as वासतेर्दृशी पथिः, स्वापतेयम् 'wealth, property'.

सभाया यः ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सभायाः, यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सभाशब्दायः प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र साधुरित्येतस्मिन्निषदे यतोपवादः ॥

105. The affix यत् comes after the word 'sabhā' when the sense is 'excellent with regard thereto.'

This debars यत् the difference being in accent (III. 1. 3, and VI. 1. 185) Thus सभायां साधुः = सभ्यः 'refined' lit. fit for society.

दृश्छन्दसि ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ दृश्, छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सभाशब्दाद् दृश् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र साधुरित्येतस्मिन्निषदे छन्दसि । यस्यापवादः ॥

106. The affix **द** comes in the chhandas after the word 'sabbhā,' in the sense of 'excellent with regard thereto.'

This debars **द** ॥ Thus सभेदः in सभेदोत्थं युवा वज्रमानस्व वीरो जायताम् 'let a refined, youthful hero be born to this sacrificer'.

समानतीर्थे वासी ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ समानतीर्थे, वासी (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ साधुपति निवृत्तम् । वासीति प्रत्ययार्थः, समानतीर्थं वासाच्चोति सप्तमीसमर्थावासीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे य-
व्यत्ययो भवति ॥

107. The affix **यत्** comes in the sense of 'resident, therein', after the word 'samāna-tīrtha', in the locative construction.

The anuvṛitti of साधुः now ceases. The word वीर्य means here गुरु 'Preceptor'. Thus समाने तीर्थे वासी = सतीर्थः (VI. 3. 87)—'a fellow-student', who both dwell under the same preceptor.

समानोदरे शयित ओ चोदात्तः ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ समान-उदरे-शयितः, ओ-
च-उदात्तः (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समानोदरश्चास्सप्तमीसमर्थाय्छयित इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यव्यत्ययो भवति ओकारचोदात्तः ॥

108. The affix **यत्** comes in the sense of 'who sleeps,' after the word 'sāmānodara' in the locative construction, and the udātta falls on the letter ओ ॥

The word शयितः is equal to स्थितः 'remain'. Thus समानोदरे शयितः = समानोदर्यः 'uterine brother' i. e. who has slept in the same womb. See VI. 3. 88.

सोदराद्य ॥ १०९ ॥ पदानि ॥ सोदरात्, यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सोदराद्यश्चास्सप्तमीसमर्थाय्छयित इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

109. The affix **य** comes after the word 'sodara,' in the sense of 'who sleeps,' the word being in the 7th case in construction.

By sūtra VI. 3. 88 समान is optionally changed to स before the word उदर when यत् follows. Thus समानोदरे शयितः = सोदर्यः ॥ Here ओ is not udātta, as it was in the last ; the udātta here falls on य ॥

भवे छन्दसि ॥ ११० ॥ पदानि ॥ भवे-छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सन्नेत्येव । सप्तमीसमर्थाय्छय इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे छन्दसि विषये यव्यत्ययो भवति । मणसीनां पासीनां चापवादः ॥

110. The affix **यत्** comes in the Chhandas, after a word in the locative case in construction, in the sense of 'what stays there.'

This debars अण्, व &c (IV. 3, 53). Those affixes also are employed in the alternative, there being much latitude of grammatical rules in the Vedas. Thus the words भवेः and विदुस्त्व in the following hymn of the Yajur Veda (16. V. 38): नमो भवेः च विदुस्त्व ॥ All the sūtras henceforward up to the end of the chapter, are Vedic sūtras, the word छन्दसि being understood in them all. The word भवे governs all the sūtras up to IV. 4. 118.

पाथोनदीभ्यां ङ्यण् ॥ १११ ॥ पदानि ॥ पाथः-नदीभ्याम्-ङ्यण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पाथश्चान्नादीभ्याम् ङ्यण् प्रत्ययो भवति तच्च भव इत्येतस्मिन्निषेधे । यतोपवादः ॥

111. The affix ङ्यण् comes in the Chhandas, in the sense of 'what stays there,' after the words 'pāthas' and 'nadi,' whereby the last vowel, with the consonant following, is elided.

This debars यत् ॥ Thus पाथसि भवः-पाथ्यः, so also नाथः ॥ As in the following hymns: तमुत्वा पाथ्या वृषा, च नो रधीत नाथो गितो मे ॥ पाथः means firmament.

वेशन्तहिमवद्भ्यामण् ॥ ११२ ॥ पदानि ॥ वेशन्त-हिमवत् भ्याम्, अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वेशन्तश्चाहिमवच्छब्दाच्चाण् प्रत्ययो भवति तच्च भव इत्येतस्मिन्निषेधे । यतोपवादः ॥

112. The affix अण् comes in the Chhandas in the sense of 'what stays there' after the words 'vesanta' and 'himavat.'

This debars यत् ॥ Thus वेशन्तीभ्यः स्वाहा, हिमवतीभ्यः स्वाहा ॥

स्रोतसो विभाषा ङ्यङ्यौ ॥ ११३ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्रोतसः विभाषा, ङ्यत्-ङ्यौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्रोतश्चाविभाषा ङ्यत् ङ्यौ इत्येतौ प्रत्ययो भवतस्तत्र भव इत्येतस्मिन्निषेधे । यतोपवादः ॥

113. The affixes ङ्यत् and ङ्यौ come optionally in the Chhandas in the sense of 'what stays there,' after the word 'srotas', and before these affixes the final syllable अस् of srotas is elided.

This debars यत् which comes in the alternative. As स्रोतसि भवः-स्रोत्स्वः or स्रोत्स्वः the difference being in the accent (III. 1. 3 and VI. 1. 185). The anubandha ङ् causes the elision of अस् of स्रोतस् ॥ When यत् is added the form is स्रोतस्वः ॥

सगर्भसयूथसनुतायन् ॥ ११४ ॥ पदानि ॥ सगर्भ-सयूथ-सनुतात्, यन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सगर्भसयूथसनुतायन् इत्येतौ प्रत्ययो भवति तच्च भव इत्येतस्मिन्निषेधे । यतोपवादः ॥

114. The affix यन् comes in the sense of 'what stays there,' after the words 'sagarbha,' 'sayûtha' and sanuta.'

This debars ञ् the difference being in accent (VI. 1. 197). Thus अनुभाता सर्गर्भः 'a younger brother'. अनुसखासखः 'a younger friend'. So also को नः समुत्कः उत वा शिपन्तु thief lit. 'who stays in a concealed place', sanuta meaning 'concealed' (see Rig Veda II. 31. 9). The word समान is always changed into स in the Chhandas (VI. 3. 84).

तुग्रात् घञ् ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तुग्रात्, घञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तुमघञ्दात् घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र भव इत्येतस्मिन्निषेधे । यतोपवाहः ॥

115. The affix घञ् comes in the Chhandas in the sense of 'what stays there,' after the word, tugra.'

This debars ञ् ॥ Thus तुभिः as त्वमने वृषभस् तुभिर्जा ॥ Which assumes the form तुमघ् tugrya also. As भावः समघ् वृषभं तुमघासु (Rig Veda I. 34. 15) Tugrya meaning 'sunk in the waters'. The word तुम means 'food, firmament, sacrifice and varishṭha'.

अग्राद्यत् ॥ ११६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अग्रात्-यत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अमघञ्दाद्यत् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र भव इत्येतस्मिन्निषेधे ।

116. The affix यत् comes in the Chhandas in the sense of 'what stays there', after the word 'agra',

Thus अये अर् - अर्ग्यम् ॥ Why this separate rule, for ञ् would have come after अम by the general rule IV. 4. 110? The repetition is to show that ञ् is not debarred by च and छ of the next sūtra, which would have been the case, had this sūtra not existed.

घच्छौ च ॥ ११७ ॥ पदानि ॥ घच्-छौ-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अमघञ्दाद्यत् घच्छौ प्रत्ययो भवस्तत्र भव इत्येतस्मिन्निषेधे ।

117. The affixes 'ghach' and 'chha' come in the Chhandas in the sense of 'what stays there', after the word 'agra.'

Thus अर्ग्यम् (by ञ्), अमीयम् (by छ) and अभिर्वम् (by च्). And अभिर्वम् (by घञ्) from IV. 4. 115. See R. V. I. 13. 10 (Sāyana) इहलघास्मिन्निषेधः ॥

समुद्राभ्राद् घः ॥ ११८ ॥ पदादि ॥ समुद्र-अभ्रात्-घः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समुद्रसङ्घादभ्राद्यश्च घः प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र भव इत्येतस्मिन्निषेधे । यतोपवाहः ॥

118. The affix 'gha' comes in the Chhandas in the sense of 'what stays there', after the words 'samudra' and 'abhra'.

This debars अत् ॥ Thus समुद्रिः and अभ्रिः, as in समुद्रिया अप्सरसो मणीषि-
णम् and गानवसो अभ्रियस्येव घोषाः ॥ The word 'abhra' being a word of fewer
syllables than 'samudra' ought to have come first. Its coming as a second
member is an irregularity.

बर्हिषि दत्तम् ॥ ११९ ॥ पदानि ॥ बर्हिषि-दत्तम् (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भव इति निवृत्तम् । बर्हिः षष्ठास्तमनीसमर्थाद्विज्ञमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यत् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

119. The affix यत् comes in the Chhandas in the
sense of 'given', after the word 'barhis' in the 7th. case in
construction.

The anuvṛtti of त्व भवः ceases. Thus बर्हिय्येऽनु निषिद्मिषेऽनु ॥ R. V. 10. 15 5

दूतस्य भागकर्मणी ॥ १२० ॥ पदानि ॥ दूतस्य-भाग-कर्मणी(यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निर्देशादेव समर्थविभक्तिः । दूतशब्दात् षष्ठीसमर्थाद्भागे कर्माणि चाभिधेये यत्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

120. The affix यत् comes in the Chhandas after
the word 'dūta' in the genitive case in construction, in the
sense of 'its share' or 'its duty.'

Thus दूत्यम् 'the share of a messenger or the work of a messenger'.
As यत्ते भग्रे दूत्यम् ॥ According to VI. 1. 213, the accent will be दूत्यम्, but the
accented Text reads दूत्यम् ॥

रक्षोयातूनां हननी ॥ १२१ ॥ पदानि ॥ रक्षः-यातूनाम्-हननी (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निर्देशादेव समर्थविभक्तिः । रक्षःशब्दाद्यातूनाम्षष्ठास्तमनीसमर्थान्वेतस्मिन्नर्थे यत्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

121. The affix यत् comes in the Chhandas in the
sense of 'killer', after the words 'raksha' and 'yātu' in the
sixth case in construction.

That by which anything is killed is called हननी ॥ Thus रक्षस्य and
यातव्यं meaning 'that which kills the demons called Rakshas and Yātus'. As
याति भग्रे रक्षस्या तनः i. e. रक्षसां हननी 'O Agni thy bodies are killers of Rakshas'.
So यातव्याः तनूः ॥ The word is in the plural as a mark of respect.

रेवतीजगतीहविष्याभ्यः प्रशस्ये ॥ १२२ ॥ पदानि ॥ रेवती-जगती-हविष्याभ्यः
प्रशस्ये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रेवत्यादिभ्यः षष्ठीसमर्थेभ्यः प्रशस्ये वाच्ये यत्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

122. The affix यत् comes in the Chhandas in the
sense of 'praising' after the words 'revatī', 'jagatī' and
'havishya' in the 6th case in construction.

The word प्रशस्य means प्रशंसन 'praising, extolling', formed by adding the
Kṛit affix क्यप् to the root, with the force of भाव or 'condition'. Thus रवत्येवं, जगत्येवं

and हविष्यन् 'praising of Revati, Jagatī or Havishya'. The word हविष्यन् is thus formed हविषे हिता = हविष्याः 'things fit for offering' i. e. butter &c, (हविष् + यत् V. I. 4) हविष्यानाम् प्रशंसनं = हविष्यन् (हविष्य + यत् IV. 4. 122 = हविष्य + यत् the final अ being elided by VI. 4. 148 = हविष् + यत् the ह being elided by VIII. 4. 64).

असुरस्य स्वम् ॥ १२३ ॥ पदानि ॥ असुरस्य, स्वम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ असुरस्यभास्वष्टीसमर्थास्त्वमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यत्प्रत्ययो भवति । अजोपवाहः ॥

123. The affix यत् comes in the Chhandas in the sense of 'property', after the word 'asura' in the 6th case in construction.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus असुर्यन् 'belonging to the Asuras'. As असुर्ये वा एतन् पात्रं यद्यकधृतं कुन्तालकृतम् 'this vessel made on a wheel by a potter belongs to the Asuras'. असुर्ये ह्येभिर्भाव्यि विश्वम् ॥ See Maitr S. I. 8. 3

मायायामण् ॥ १२४ ॥ पदानि ॥ मायायाम्-अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ असुरस्यभास्वष्टीसमर्थायामायायां स्वविद्येये ऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति । पूर्वस्व यजोपवाहः ॥

124. The affix अण् comes in the Chhandas in the sense of 'glamour', after the word 'asura' in the 6th case in construction.

This debars यत् ॥ असुरस्य माया = भासुरः feminine आसुरी ॥ As आसुरी माया स्वभया कृतासि ॥

तद्दानासामुपधानो मन्त्र इतीष्टकासुलुक् च मतोः ॥ १२५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तद्दान्-आसाम्-उपधानः-मन्त्र-इति-इष्टकासु-लुक्-च-मतोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्दानिति निर्देशादेव समर्थविभक्तिः अनुबन्तात्प्रातिपदिकात्प्रथमासमर्थासासामिति वक्ष्ये व्य-
ध्ययो भवति । यत्प्रथमासमर्थमुपधानोमन्त्रश्चेत्स भवति । यत्तदासामिति निर्दिष्टनिष्ठाभावेना भवन्ति । लुक्-
च मतोः इति प्रकृतिनिर्हासः । इतिकरणस्तत्तथेद्विज्ञा । तद्दानित्यवयवेन समुदायो व्यपदिश्यते ॥

125. The affix यत् comes in the Chhandas, after a nominal stem, in the 1st case in construction, ending with the affix 'inatup', when the sense is "this is their mantra of putting up", provided that, the things put up are bricks: And the affix matup is elided by luk.

This sūtra requires analysis. तद्दान् is formed by adding मनुप् to तद् meaning 'having that', and refers to a noun formed by the affix मनुप् ॥ The word आसाम् is genitive plural fem. of इदं meaning 'of them'; the pronoun refers to the word इष्टका ॥ The word उपधान means 'putting up', and technically means 'used as a Mantra in the putting up of sacrificial bricks, pots &c'. मन्त्र "sacred hymn" इष्टका 'bricks'. The whole sūtra means "the affix 'yat' is used with

the force of a genitive (āsām), after a word which ends with matup (tadvān), and denotes a mantra used in putting up of sacrificial objects; when such mantra refers to bricks: and when this affix yat is added, the affix matup is elided'. Thus वर्चस्वान् is a Mantra containing the word वर्चस् ॥ The bricks put up or collected (उपधीयते) with the recitation of वर्चस्वान् Mantra, will be called वर्चस्त्य (वर्चस्वत् + यत् = वर्चस् + यत् the affix यत् (मनुप्) being elided = वर्चस्व, fem वर्चस्त्या) ॥ Thus वर्चस्त्या उपधाति 'he collects Varchasya bricks i. e. on which Varchasvān mantra has been pronounced'. So वेजस्त्या उपधाति ॥ So वयस्त्या, रेतस्त्या ॥

Why do we say वद्वान्? The affix is not to be added to the whole Mantra. Why do we say, उपधान 'putting up'? The affix is not to be added to other Mantras such as those used in praying etc. e. g. वर्चस्वानुपस्थान मन्त्र आसा मिष्टकानाम्, here there will be no affix. Why do we say Mantra? Observe अंगुलिमानुपधानो हस्त आसात् 'these bricks are collected with hand having fingers', here there will be no affix. Why do we say इटकात्? Observe वर्चस्वानुपधानो मन्त्र एषां कपालानाम्, here there will be no affix, the thing collected being potsherds and not bricks.

अश्विमानण् ॥ १२६ ॥ अश्विमान्-अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अश्विघ्नो यस्मिन्मन्त्रेऽस्ति सोऽश्विमान् । अश्विमच्छद्वाण् प्रत्ययो भवति । पूर्वस्य यतोपवादः ।

126. The affix अण् comes in the Chhandas, after the words asvimān, to denote bricks put up with the Mantra containing the word Asvin, and the affix matup is elided.

Thus अश्विमानुपधानो मन्त्र आसामिष्टकानां = आश्विनः fem. आश्विनीः ॥ The word is thus formed अश्विमान् + अण् = अश्वि + अण् the matup being elided IV. 4. 125 = अश्विन् + अण् VI. 4. 164 = आश्विन ॥ Thus आश्विनी उपधाति 'he collects Asvin bricks i. e. bricks at the time of collecting which Mantras containing अश्विन् were uttered. See Yajur Veda Tait S. 5. 3. 1. 1.

वयस्त्यासु मूर्ध्नो मतुप् ॥ १२७ ॥ पदानि ॥ वयस्त्यासु-मूर्ध्नः-मनुप् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वयस्त्रानुपधानो मन्त्रो यासां ता वयस्त्यास्तास्वभिधेयासु मूर्ध्नो मतुप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

127. The affix 'matup' is added in the Chhandas, to the word 'mûrdhanvat', in expressing bricks collected with the Mantra containing the word 'vayas'.

The word वयस्त्या means the bricks, the Upadhāna mantras of which contain the word वयस् ॥ The affix मतुप् debars यत् ॥ A mantra which contains both the word वयस् and मूर्ध्न, that Mantra is both वयस्वान् and मूर्ध्नवान् ॥ Now in denoting sacrificial bricks put up with such a mantra, the affix यत् would have come by IV. 4. 125 after both these words वयस्वान् and मूर्ध्नवान् ॥ The present

sūtra ordains मत् after मूर्धन्वात् ॥ Thus मूर्धन्वात्सीत्यत्रासि 'he collects Mūrdhanvatt bricks'. The words वयस्याः and मूर्धन्वत्यः denote the same object. See VI. 1. 176.

Why do we say वयस्यात्? The affix 'matup' will not be added to 'mūrdhan', if the Mantra contains only the word 'mūrdhan' and not 'vayas' also. In that case मूर्धन्याः will be the form, meaning 'bricks collected with the Mantra containing the word मूर्धन्', while मूर्धन्वत्यः means 'bricks collected with the Mantra containing the words mūrdhan and vayas'.

The sūtra contains the word मूर्धः ablative singular of मूर्धन् ॥ It ought to have been मूर्धन्वत्, for the affix matup is added to मूर्धन्वत्, the वत् being elided then by IV. 4. 125. The author has mentally elided the affix वत्, and shown in the aphorism the last stage of the word to which मत् is to be added.

मत्वर्थे मासतन्वोः ॥ १२८ ॥ पदानि ॥ मत्वर्थे-मास-तन्वोः (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यस्मिन्नर्थे मत्प्रतिहितस्तस्मिन्मन्त्रसि विषये वयस्यव्यो भवति मासतन्वोः प्रत्ययार्थं विशेषणयोः ।
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ मासतन्वात्तन्वोःपथे वा ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ हुगकारेकारेफाव वक्तव्याः ॥

128. The affix यत् comes in the Chhandas with the force of matup, after a word in the first case in construction, the word so formed meaning a month or a body.

This debars the affix मत् and those having the sense of मत् ॥ Thus नभांसि विद्यन्ते यस्मिन् मासि = नभस्यः 'the month of clouds' i. e. June-July. So also सहस्यः, तपस्यः नभस्यः, being the names of the months Pausa (Nov-Dec), Phal-guna (Feb-March) and Vaisākha (April-May). The word नभस्यः is thus formed:--मधु + यत् = मधा + यत् (VI. 4. 146) = नभस्यः (VI. 1. 79) 'the month of honey'. Similarly शोणस्य तन्वुः 'the bodies full of vigour'.

Why do we say "in denoting a month or a body"? Observe मधुमत्ता पात्रेण चरति, here मत् is used.

Vart :—The affix क्त is optionally employed when the sense is 'immediately after'. As मध्वस्मिन्नस्ति मध्वस्मिन्नन्तरमिति वा = मध्वस्यः or मध्वो मासः ॥

Vart :—Sometimes the affix is elided, and sometimes the letters अ, इ and ए serve the same purpose as this affix. Thus तपः or तपस्यः, नभस् or नभस्यः, सहस् or सहस्यः, all in the neuter gender in the Chhandas. Sometimes अ serves the same purpose, e. g. इषो मासः, ऊर्जोमासः ॥ Sometimes इ, as शुचिर्मासः. Sometimes ए e. g. शुक्रो मासः ॥

मधोर्जं च ॥ १२९ ॥ पदानि ॥ मधोः-अ-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मधुप्राप्तान्मत्वर्थे अः प्रत्ययो भवति चकापयच ॥

129. The affix अ as well as यत् comes with the force of matup, in the Chhandas, after the word मधु ॥

Thus माधवः or मधवः ॥ Sometimes the affix is elided, as मधुः, all these mean the month of Vaisākha. So also माधवाः, मधव्या and मधुः meaning तनूः or body.

ओजसो ऽहनि यत्सौ ॥ १३० ॥ पदानि ॥ ओजसः-अहनि-यत्-सौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मत्वर्थइत्येव । ओजः शब्दान्मत्वर्थे यत्सौ प्रत्ययो भवतोऽह्न्यभिधेये ॥

130. The affixes यत् and सौ come with the force of matup, after the word 'ojas', when a day is meant.

Thus ओजस्यम् or ओजसूनि = अहः 'the day' lit. full of heat.

वेशोयशआदेर्भगाद्यल् ॥ १३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ वेशः-यशः-आदेः-भगात्-यल् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मत्वर्थइत्येव । वेशोयशसी भारौ यस्य प्रातिपदिकस्य सप्तादेशोयशआदेर्भगान्ताध्यातिपदिकान्त्वर्थे यल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

131. The affix यल् comes in the Chhandas, with the force of matup, after the word bhaga, having the words 'vesas' or 'yasas' in the beginning.

The सू of यल् shows that the accent falls on the vowel preceding the affix (VI. 1. 193). Thus वेशोभगो विद्यते यस्य स = वेशोर्भग्यः 'strong-fortune' so also यशोर्भग्यः 'famous-fortune'. The word वेश means 'strength': भग means 'fortune, desire, effort, greatness, virility and fame.' The word वेशोभगः may be taken as a Dvandva compound of वेशस् 'force' and भगः 'fortune.' The word वेशोभग्यः would then mean 'possessed of power and fortune'.

सू च ॥ १३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सू-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वेशोयशआदेर्भगान्ताध्यातिपदिकान्त्वर्थे सूः प्रत्ययो भवति । योगविभागो यथासंख्यनिपसाथं वृत्तपर्ययः । अकारपठ्यत् ॥

132. The affix सू also comes after the words 'vesobhaga' and 'yasobhaga', in the Chhandas, with the force of matup.

Thus वेशोभगीनः and यशोभगीनः ॥ This sūtra has been separated from last in order to prevent the application of the यथासंख्य rule (I. 3. 10). For had the sūtra been वेशोयश आदेर्भगाद् यल्सौ, as it occurs in Siddhanta Kaumudi, then the affix यल् would apply to वेशोभग, and the affix सू to यशोभगः which is not what is intended. Another reason for making it a distinct aphorism is that the anuvṛtti of सू runs in the next sūtra, not so of यल् ॥

पूर्वेः कृतमिनयो च ॥ १३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूर्वेः-कृत-मिन-यो-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मत्वर्थ इति निवृत्तम् । निर्देशादेव समर्थविभक्तिः । पूर्वशाखाद् तृतीयासमर्थकृतमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे इन य इत्येतौ प्रत्ययो भवतः । अकारपठ्यत् च ॥

133. The affixes इन् and य as well as लृ come in the sense of 'made by them', after the word 'purva' (forefathers) in the Instrumental case in construction.

The लृ is read into the sūtra by force of the word य; the anuvṛitti of मत्वर्थ ceases. Thus पूर्वैः कृतं = पूर्वजिनः 'made by the ancestors' i.e. a road. So also पूर्व्यः and पूर्वजिनः ॥ The word पूर्वैः in the plural means पूर्वपुरुषाः "past generations, ancestors". These words occur generally in the plural, and mean "roads widened by the forefathers". Thus गम्भीरेभिः पथिभिः पूर्वजिभिः ॥ So also, वे वे पन्थाः सविताः पूर्व्यासः (Rig I. 35. 11) Another reading of this sūtra is पूर्वैः कृतमिनीयोज; the affixes then will be इनि (इन्), and य; and लृ will be drawn in by virtue of य ॥ The examples then will be पूर्वैः; 3rd pl. पूर्वजिभिः (with इन्), as पथिभिः पूर्वजिभिः, or पूर्वजिभिः (लृ), or पूर्व्यैः (य) ॥

अङ्गिः संस्कृतम् ॥ १३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अङ्गिः-संस्कृतम् (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निर्देशादेव समर्थविभक्तिः । अपञ्चदशाक्षुतीयासमर्थान् संस्कृतमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यत्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

134. The affix यत् comes in the Chhandas in the sense of 'sanctified', after the word 'apas' in the 3rd case in construction.

Thus अप्यय 'offering purified with water'. As यस्येदमयं इति ॥ The case of construction is indicated in the sūtra itself.

सहस्रेण संमितौ घः ॥ १३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सहस्रेण-संमितौ-घ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निर्देशादेव समर्थविभक्तिः । सहस्रशब्दाक्षुतीयासमर्थान् संमितौ इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

135. The affix 'gha' comes in the Chhandas, in the sense of 'like', after the word 'sahasra'; in the 3rd case in construction.

The case of construction is indicated by the sūtra. Thus सहस्रेण संमितः = सहस्रियः 'like unto thousand'. As in the following verse:—सहस्रियासोऽर्षा नोर्ध्वः ॥ अयमग्निः सहस्रियः The word संमित means सुख 'equal to'. Some read the word समित instead of समित, but the meaning will be the same.

मतौ च ॥ १३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ मतौ-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मत्वर्थे च सहस्रशब्दात् यः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

136. The affix 'gha' comes in the Chhandas with the force of matup, after the word 'sahasra'.

As सहस्रयस्य विद्यते = सहस्रियः ॥ This debarb the मत्वर्थ affixes विनि and इनि and अण् of V. 2. 102 and 103.

सोममर्हति यः ॥ १३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सोमम्-अर्हति-यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निर्देशादेव समर्थविभक्तिः । सोमशब्दाक्षुतीयासमर्थान् अर्हति इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

137. The affix य comes in the Chhandas, after the word 'Soma', in the second case in construction, when the sense is that of 'who deserves that'.

Thus सोममर्हन्ति = सोम्या ब्राह्मणाः "The Brāhmaṇas who deserve Soma" i. e. honorable and learned, and worthy of performing sacrifices. The difference between यत् and य is in accent.

मये च ॥ १३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ मये-च (य) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सोममर्हणं, ब्रह्ममर्हते । मय इति मयदर्थो लभ्यते । सोमघाशान्मयदर्थे यः प्रत्ययो भवति । आगतविकापवयवमकृता मयदर्थ्या ॥

138. The affix य comes in the Chhandas, after the word 'Soma', with the force of the affix mayat.

The force of the affix मयद् is that of ततः आगतः (IV. 3. 74 and 82), विकापवयव (IV. 3. 134 and 143) and प्रकृत (V. 4. 21). The case in construction will vary according to the sense. Thus सोम्यं मधुः पिबन्ति = सोममद्यः मधुः ॥

मयोः ॥ १३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ मयोः (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यद्यभ्यो निवृत्तः । मधुघाशान्मयदर्थे यत् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

139. The affix यद् comes in the Chhandas, after the word 'madhu', with the force of the affix mayat.

Thus मध्व्याद् स्तोकाद् = मधुमयाद् ॥

वसोः समूहे च ॥ १४० ॥ पदानि ॥ वसोः-समूहे, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वसुघाशान्समूहे वाच्ये यत्प्रत्ययो भवति चकापान्मयदर्थे च । यथायोगं समर्थविभक्तिः ॥ वार्तिकम् ॥ अक्षरसमूहे छन्दसः स्वर्यदपसंख्यानम् ॥ वा० ॥ वसुघाशादपि यद्भक्त्यः ॥

140. The affix यत् comes in the Chhandas after the word 'vasu', when a collection is meant, as well as with the force of mayat.

Thus वसव्यः = समूहः 'a collection'.

Vart.—The affix 'yat' comes without changing the sense, after the word छन्दस् when reference is made to the collection of letters. Thus the word छन्दस् in the following sentence: "सप्तारचाक्षरछन्दस्यः प्रजापतिवशो मन्त्रे विहिता". The 17 letters here referred to being ओ आवय, four; अस्तु औषद्, four; वज्र, two; दे वजा-नो five; and वषट् two ॥

Vart.—The affix यत् comes after वसु without changing the sense. As वसो हवीतस्य बहुभिर्वसव्यैः ॥ Here वसव्यैः is equal to वसुभिः ॥ Similarly अग्निरीक्षे वस-व्यस्य = वसोः ॥

नक्षत्राद् घः ॥ १४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ नक्षत्राद्, घः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नक्षत्रघाशादपि प्रत्ययो भवति स्वर्ये ॥

141. The affix 'gha' comes in the Chhandas after the word 'nakshatra', without altering the meaning.

The anuvṛtti of समूह does not extend to this sūtra. Thus नक्षत्रिभ्यः स्वाहा = नक्षत्रिभ्यः स्वाहा ॥

सर्वदेवास्तात्तिल् ॥ १४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सर्व, देवात्, तात्तिल् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वदेवशब्दाभ्यां तात्तिल् प्रत्ययो भवति छन्दसि विषये स्वार्थिकः ॥

142. The affix 'tâtil' comes in the Chhandas after the words 'sarva' and 'deva', without altering the meaning.

As सर्वतातिः and देवतातिः in the following hymns : "सविता नः सुवतु सर्वताविष् and प्रसिषिदेवतातिर्गुणः ॥

शिवशममरिष्टस्य करे ॥ १४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ शिव, शम, अरिष्टस्य, करे (तात्तिल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ करोतीति करः प्रत्ययार्थः । तस्मान्मर्थलभ्या षष्ठी समर्थविभक्तिः । शिवादिभ्यः छन्देभ्यः षष्ठीसमर्थेभ्यः कर इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे तात्तिल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

143. The affix 'tâtil' comes, in the Chhandas, after the word 'siva', 'sam', and 'arishṭa' in the sixth case in construction when the sense is 'he 'does'.

The word करः is equivalent to करोति formed by कृच् (III. 1. 134)

This shows that the construction must be genitive. With a kṛit-formed word, it has accusative force, as, शिवस्य करः = शिवं करोति ॥

Thus शिवस्य करः = शिवतातिः, So संतातिः and अरिष्टतातिः ॥ As द्वाग्निः छन्ताग्नी भवयो दग्धशुषं (Rig I. 112. 20) संताग्नी being dual of छन्तातिः, and meaning मुखस्य कर्तारौ; so also अयो अरिष्टतात्तवे ॥

भावे च ॥ १४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ भावे-च (तात्तिल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भावे चार्थे छन्दसि विषये शिवादिभ्यस्तात्तिल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

144. The affix 'tâtil' comes in the Chhandas, after the words 'siva', 'sam' and 'arishṭa', being in the 6th case in construction, the sense being that of condition.

Thus शिवस्य भावः = शिवतातिः 'the condition of blissfulness'. छन्तातिः 'the state of happiness or peace', अरिष्टतातिः ॥ Here these words have the force of Verba] nouns.